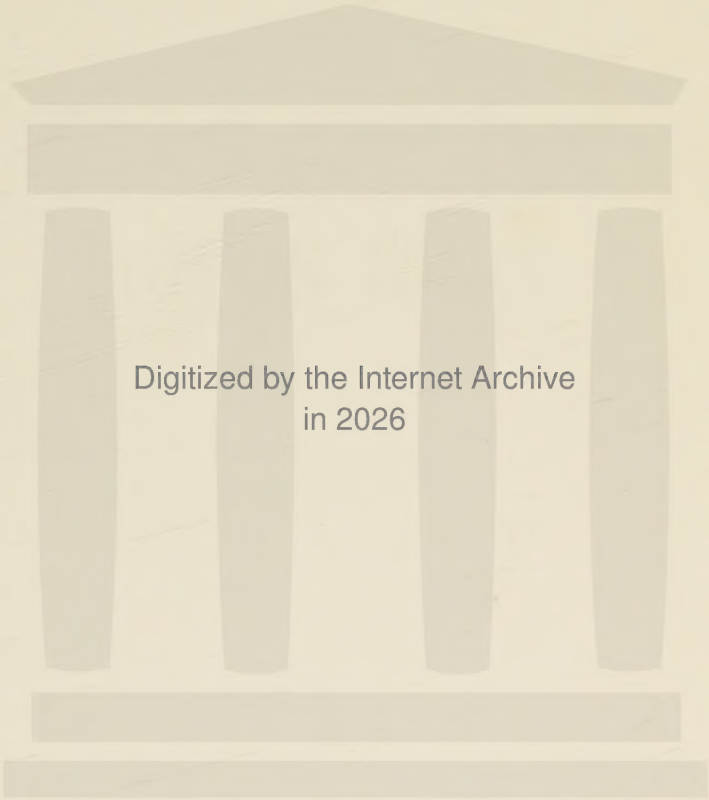
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THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

RUFUS KING

VOLUME V.

1807-1816

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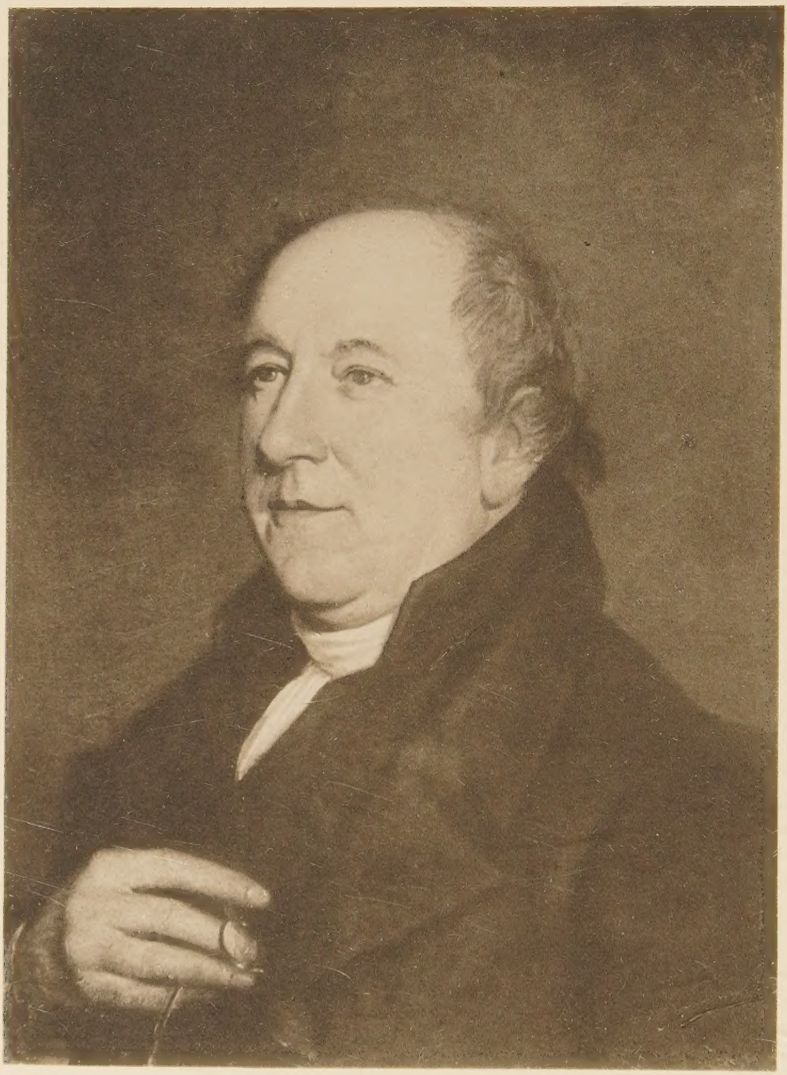

Rufus King

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

RUFUS KING

COMPRISING HIS LETTERS, PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL
HIS PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND
HIS SPEECHES

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON

CHARLES R. KING, M.D., LL.D. (TRIN.)

FELLOW OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, PHILADELPHIA, AND
MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA
HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

VOLUME V.

1807-1816

NEW YORK
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
The Knickerbocker Press
1898

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BY
CHARLES R. KING

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

PREFACE.

Though many of the letters of Mr. King's correspondents are long, it has been thought best to give them as they were written, without leaving out any portions which might be necessary clearly to express the opinions of the writers; the object has been to prevent any suggestion of omissions with a view of modifying these opinions. The Editor, therefore, desires to say that in all cases where the marks indicate that something has been left out, the matter excluded is either repetition of thoughts elsewhere expressed, or entirely irrelevant, and perhaps of personal interest only.

In the first portion of the present volume Mr. King, though enjoying the pleasures of a quiet life in the country, is shown to be warmly alive to, and interested in, the questions which deeply agitated the whole country; later on, during the war, when sent by his State to the United States Senate, he sought to bring about an early peace, but deemed it his duty to support the Government in all measures which might strengthen it financially and place its army and navy in such condition as to make the terms of peace honorable to the country; and when the war was over, to provide for the future welfare of the land, which had been so sadly marred by the wounds given to its commerce and by the general mismanagement of public affairs. These evils he could not and did not fail to see, but, opposed as he was to the ruling powers, he was most earnest in his endeavors to so modify proposed measures of relief as to bring from them the greatest benefits.

The name of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, who was appointed Senator from New York to the United States Senate in 1804, serving until 1809, is incorrectly given in this volume as Mitchell. This was overlooked until too late to make the correction.

CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Condition of the Country and its Relations with other Countries—New York Politics—Troup to King—What Course the Federalists should pursue in Election of Governor—Rely on King's Judgment—Troup to King—Lewis had a Majority—Assembly opposed to Clinton—King to Gore—His Son James—Treaty with England not yet made—Federalists to help Lewis's Party without Pledge—Troup to King—Tompkins and Lewis nominated for Governor—Federalists divided—Pickering to King—President says Treaty nearly ready—Armstrong's Correspondence—Troup to King—Federalists to support Lewis—N. Webster to King—His English Dictionary—King to G. Morris—Possibly Jefferson obliged for national Honor to send the Treaty back—Troup to King—Democrat Wings bitterly hostile—Election in New York—King Candidate for Assembly—Emmet to King—Bitter Attack on Account of his preventing the Irish political Prisoners emigrating to the U. S.—Cheetham's Slanders—King's Answer 1

CHAPTER II.

Troup to King—Federalists stimulated by Attack on King and by Lansing's Declaration—Political Aspect—Troup to King—Lansing's Declaration causes Disaffection among the Democrats—Gore to King—Of the Abuse of King—Troup to King—Attack on Van Rensselaer—N. Webster to King—Pronunciation of *u*, or *t* preceding *u*, as *ch*—King to Webster—That customary among higher Classes—Cannot encourage him in his Work—Ingersoll to King—Loss of his Election—Troup to King—Trinity Church should rather make Provision for the Support of Clergy—Webster to King—Regrets his Despondence on the political State—Hopes it is not remediless—King to G. Morris—Wishes to discuss with him respecting Impressment—King to Gore—Impressment and Affair of the Chesapeake—W. King to King—When will Question with England be settled?—Gore to King—Will not support Sullivan—King to Gore—Embargo causes Alarm. 29

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

Pickering to King—Case of Senator John Smith—Adams's Report—Mr. Rose's Mission—Embargo—Pickering to King—President withholds Information—Effect of Embargo—Mr. Jefferson will not make Treaty with England—Rose's Mission may be successful—Difficulties met by Mr. Rose before landing—President's Conduct—King to Pickering—Ruin and Distress from Stoppage of Trade—Thinks there is Danger of War if Embargo continues—Pickering to King—Jefferson says: England because of Bonaparte's Measures will not long exist—Mr. Adams relative to Embargo—Is War imminent?—King to —— Monroe's and Pinkney's Instructions—Armstrong's Letters—Not sent to Senate—France's Acts relative to Florida—Pickering to King—President will negotiate with Rose—Negotiation in London broken off—What will the President do?—Gardenier to King—Speculations about foreign Affairs—King to Gardenier—Rose should make Reparations—Impressment—Carrying Trade—Pickering to King—Armstrong's Letters withheld—Bonaparte's Requisitions 44

CHAPTER IV.

Pickering to King—Register—A new Paper—Its Comments on Affairs—Effects of Embargo—Pickering to King—Chesapeake Affair—Order of Council—King to Pickering—Embargo, if continued, prevents Merchants benefiting from high Markets of the Continent—Effect of Orders of Council—Retaliation—Gardenier to King—Influence of Embargo—Only Hope rests on the Fears of the Administration—Mr. Adams's Apostasy—Pickering to King—Must rescind the Proclamation before Settlement of Chesapeake Affair—King to Pickering—England's Fall the Grave of our Liberties—Urges Call for Armstrong's Letters—King to Gore—Rose's Position about the Chesapeake—President's Proclamation must be withdrawn—Pickering to King—Friends advise waiting before asking for Armstrong's Letters—Pinkney's Position—Jefferson's Policy wavering—King's, the Key: A Peep behind the Curtain—King to Pickering—Proposed Law of Treason unconstitutional—Pickering to King—Rose's Negotiation broken off—Pinkney nominated as Minister—Pickering to King—Law of Treason unconstitutional; postponed—Pinkney's Nomination opposed—Ministers signed the Treaty without Authority—Pickering to King—Dispatches from Pinkney's and Armstrong's Letters—Not a Line of Letter to his own Government—President asks to raise Troops 63

CHAPTER V.

King to Pickering—Peace cannot be maintained with France and England—Pickering to King—Madison's Answer to Rose—Demands from

PAGE

France—Pickering to Rose—King's Opinion—Rose to Pickering—Thanks him for King's Letter—Troup to King—Evil Effects of Embargo—Pickering to King—President thinks no Occasion for War with England—King to Gardenier—Life no longer in Danger—Duel—Gore to King—Postponement of Meeting in Boston to remonstrate against Embargo—Question asked whether Eastern States might not combine to prevent a War with G. Britain—Pickering to King—Champagny's Letter—King to Pickering—Regrets that Chesapeake Affair is unsettled—Approves his Letter to Sullivan—Gore to King—Political State in Massachusetts—King to Pickering—Pinkney's Construction of the Decree of Berlin indefensible—Smith to King—Medal to Com. Preble—Discussion about the Inscription—King, Paper on Words 82

CHAPTER VI.

W. King to King—Large Numbers in Maine against the present Measure of the Administration—Gore to King—May choose Electors by the Legislature—Suggested as Senator of U. S.—Baring to King—His Son's Pamphlet—Gore to King—Committee appointed to correspond with Federalists about the next Election of President—Gore to King—Proposed a Meeting of Federalists in New York—Federalists prefer federal Candidate—Alternative Clinton—Dr. Mason to King—Condoles with him on Account of an Accident to his Son—King to Mason—Responds—King to Gore—Astonished at Parson's Views about the Presidential Election—Clinton not supported in N. Y. against Madison—Ewing's Career—King to Gore—Trees for Jamaica—Better Temper in England respecting America—Pickering to King—Embargo to be continued—N. England Opposition makes President's Friends uneasy—Anecdote relative to Franklin in the Peace Negotiations—King to Pickering—Madison and Neutral Rights as affected by the Berlin Decree—Gore to King—Disappointment in Boston the Embargo is not repealed—Sufferings unbearable—Articles in *Ev'g Post*, on France's Infringement of Treaty attributed to King . 97

CHAPTER VII.

King to Geo. Hammond—Anxiety about public Affairs—Introduces Col. Trumbull—King to Pickering—Alarming Rumors—Trumbull to King—French in Madrid—Prices of Articles in England—Pickering to King—British Orders were among Causes of the Embargo—Franklin said to be in French Interest in Peace Negotiations—King to Pickering—Answer that there was powerful French Influence in Peace Negotiations, both in U. S. and Europe—Jay by Opposition incurred the Displeasure of Vergennes—Thanks him for his Speech against Bill to enforce the Embargo—Pickering to King—Impressment in 1803—Jefferson determined not to make a Treaty with G.

CHAPTER XIII.

PAGE

Pickering to King—Main's *Thorn Hedges*—Trumbull to King—Foster, Minister from England—King to Pickering—Thorn Hedges—Danger to Judiciary in New York—Pickering to King—Hedges—Democratic Senators see no Subserviency to France in President's Proclamation—Trumbull to King—French Retreat in the Peninsula—Bonaparte wants Money and Men—Foster's Mission—Pinkney and the Prince Regent—Gore to King—Complaint that King does not take more active Part in New York—Trumbull to King—French steadily retreating—War between France and Russia—Madison Scored—Temple to King—Hopes for conciliatory Measures—Hobart to King—His Statement about Jones—King to Hobart—Case of Jones—Competency of the Bishop's Court—T. L. Ogden to King—Jones's Case—Sperry to King—Glebe Lands in Vermont—King to Porter—On present State of public Affairs—Does not consider the French Decrees revoked—Impressment—Is our Honor more assailed by England than by France—Would oppose War with England . 239

CHAPTER XIV.

Gore to King—Massachusetts Politics—King—Henry Plot—Nothing hostile to the United States—Morris to King—French in Spain—Affairs at Home depend on Madison's Re-election—King—Statement—Affairs in New York—Clinton's Aspirations—Conferences with his Friends and himself—King finally satisfied that Support of him by Federalists would be unwise—Not willing to be a Candidate for Vice-Presidency—King to Gore—War one of Party, not of Country—Cannot be carried on by Militia—If England wise, Peace will soon come—D'Ivernois to King—Heard he was on a pacific Mission—Trumbull to King—America at War with England—Northern Europe with France—King to Gore—Attended Meeting in New York respecting the Presidential Election—Opposed to its Resolutions—Opposed to Clinton—Would prefer a federal Candidate to Madison—King to Gore—Elections uncertain—War has dissatisfied many Democrats in New York—Gore to King—Leading Federalists want Change—Opposition to Madison—Most prefer Clinton . . . 256

CHAPTER XV.

W. King to R. King—Contradicts Miller's Statement of Latter's favoring Clinton—S. Van Rensselaer to King—Approves his Views on the Presidential Election—Engagement at Queenstown—King to W. King—Miller's Statement untrue—King to Morris—Congress should declare War with France—C. King to King—Election to Congress from Maine—People want a Change—King to Huntington—Paper in Suffolk County—Van Rensselaer to King—Candidate for Gover-

PAGE

nor—King—Election as U. S. Senator—King to Gore—Election to Senate—Henderson to King—Opposition to Van Rensselaer unfounded—King's Election—Morris's Paper favorable to Peace—King to Gore—Urging his Appointment as Senator—Strong to King—Favorable to Gore's Appointment—King to Gore—Hopes he may get it—King to Troup—Trinity Church and Chapels 285

CHAPTER XVI.

Defences of the Harbor of New York—The Corporation of the City could not act—Memorial to the Legislature to interfere—It failed to do so—Patriotic Citizens made the Defences—King to Lord Sidmouth—Introducing his Son—King to Vansittart—Relative to his Son and deploring the War—Adjournment of 12th Congress—Inefficient Conduct of the War—Assembling of the 13th Congress—President's Message—Russian Mediation—Nomination of Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard as Envoys under the Russian Offer—Rejection of Gallatin—King's Notes of Speech on his Nomination—Dashkoff on the Russian Mission—Estimates of King 301

CHAPTER XVII.

Attacks of the *National Intelligencer* on the Senate—Rejection of the Nominations of Gallatin and Russell—King's Defence of the Senate—Justification of Refusal to advise sending an Embassy to Sweden—President's Refusal to meet a Committee of Conference from the Senate—His Course reviewed—Gallatin's Rejection reviewed . . 323

CHAPTER XVIII.

King to Gore—The Russian Offer of Mediation examined—Gore to King—Talk in Boston of aiding Commerce by a Peace or Armistice—King to Gore—Continuance of War will endanger the Union—Doubts relative to the Russian Mediation—Sir W. Scott to King—Regard for him—Though Condition of Europe more favorable, still Anxiety in England—It is united upon Questions between her and United States—And has grown in Wealth—Sidmouth to King—Time for his Son's Visit unfavorable for Settlement—King to Gore—Nothing heard of Mediation—His Son finds England's Opinion very hostile towards United States—King to Gore—Adams and Bayard to treat directly with England—Continental Affairs—Moreau's Death—Hamilton's Opinion of DeWitt Clinton—Lee to King—Baltimore Riot—English in West Indies do not applaud the War—Danger to the United States, should War cease on the Continent—Hopes for, and urges King to strive for Peace 342

PAGE

—King to Sir William Scott—Former cordial Relations—Regrets the War with England—Hopes for speedy Peace—King on the Hartford Convention—Advises Prudence in its Acts—King's Speech on the Land-Tax Bill 438

CHAPTER XXV.

Action of Maryland's House of Delegates, thanking King, by Name, and other Members of Congress, for their Agency in stopping the Militia Bill—King's Answer—Morris to King—National Bank—Failure of Conscription Law—Fears Hartford Convention will not take strong Ground—King's Remarks on Bill to lay a direct Tax—Approves—Morris to King—Strictures on the Support of the Government—King to C. King—On current Actions of Congress—King to C. King—Battle of New Orleans—King to Morris—Answers his Strictures—Union in Defence of the Country only Way to Peace—King to Morris—Treaty of Peace arrived—Morris to King—Conjectures relative to the Treaty—Democrats will probably go for Abolition of the direct Tax 454

CHAPTER XXVI.

Emott to King—Rejoices at the Peace—Troubles in New York Legislature—King to Gore—Inability to do Good suggests Wisdom of retiring from public Life—Gore to King—Wishes to leave the Senate—Conversation with Cabot on the Hartford Convention—Peace in Boston—Gore to King—No Plan by Parties in Massachusetts—King to Trumbull—Affairs at Home and Abroad—King to Gore—Hanson's Paper and Affairs—Accommodations for Winter at Washington—Opinion relative to Dartmoor—What the Fate of Bonaparte—Harison to King—Compares Case of Mettus Tuffetius with that of Napoleon—C. King to King—Account of the Dartmoor Investigation—Gore to King—Dartmoor Report—Gratified by the manly Character and Decision of the Statement—Changes of Men at Washington—Lafayette to King—Introducing St. Jean d'Angely 472

CHAPTER XXVII.

King to Gore—Commercial Treaty with England—C. King to King—Condition of France—England said to be about taking Florida—W. King to King—Treaty unfavorable to the W. India Trade—King to J. Mason—Condition and Course of Banks—Excessive Issue of Notes destructive to them—King to Gore—Count Survilliers' proposed Residence in America—King to his Son Edward—To practise Law in Ohio—Advice as to his Life and Studies—King to E. King—Commercial Treaty with England—King to E. King—New Year's Letter with Advice—King to E. King—Branch of National Bank better at Chillicothe—Henderson to King—Harbor on Lake Ontario

PAGE

—Dallas's Plan of a Bank not approved—C. King to King—Commercial Treaty liked in England—Van Ness to King—Affairs in Albany—Irregularity in Election Returns gives Majority to Democrats in the Assembly—Dwight to King—Federalists must secure New York—Coleman's Sketch of King 488

CHAPTER XXVIII.

H. Bleecker and Others to King—Announcement of his Nomination as Governor of New York—J. R. Van Rensselaer to King—Urging his Acceptance of the Nomination—Kent to King—Acceptance absolutely necessary—J. Morris to King—Choice without consulting him—Duer to King—Dwight to King—Oakley to King—All urging his Acceptance—Ogden to King—Van Ness not being Candidate wishes King to be—S. Van Rensselaer to King—W. Henderson to King—Duer to Henderson—Z. R. Shepherd to King—Van Ness to King—All pressing him to accept the Nomination—J. A. King to King—State of Opinion—Tompkins democratic Nominee—S. Van Rensselaer to King—Division among the Democrats—Hopes for King's Success—King to Bleecker Committee—Accepts the Nomination—Mrs. King to E. King—His Father's Nomination—Affectionate Messages. 506

CHAPTER XXIX.

King to E. King—Nomination—King to Morris—Accepted the Nomination—Morris to King—Pleased with Candidacy—Oakley to King—Tompkins nominated—State Politics—J. A. King to King—Abuse in Papers of C. King for Dartmoor Business—Letter to H. Clay—Satisfactory Answer—King's Vindication of his Course towards Irish State Prisoners—Irish Emigrant Association to King—Asking his Support in certain Measures for the Relief of Irish Emigrants to the U. S.—King to Gore—Defeat of Federalists in New York—King to Gore—Personally satisfied with the Result of the Elections Gore to King—Satisfied he was a Candidate—Life at Warm Springs, Va.—King to E. King—Return Home—E. King's Engagement—King to E. King—Federalists must Adhere to their Integrity—Gore to King—Sent to the Legislature his Resignation of Senatorship . 525

APPENDIX I.—Essay on State of the Foreign Relations, 1810 . . . 539

APPENDIX II.—The President's Message, Nov. 4, 1812 542

APPENDIX III.—On Impressment as a Cause of War 544

APPENDIX IV.—R. King's Course in Sustaining the Vigorous Prosecution of the War 547

APPENDIX V.—Status of the Indians after the War of 1812-15 . . 549

APPENDIX VI.—National Bank of the United States of America . . 553

APPENDIX VII.—Commercial Convention with England 561

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER I.

Condition of the Country and its Relations with other Countries—New York Politics—Troup to King—What Course the Federalists should pursue in Election of Governor—Rely on King's Judgment—Troup to King—Lewis had a Majority—Assembly opposed to Clinton—King to Gore—His Son James—Treaty with England not yet made—Federalists to help Lewis' Party without Pledge—Troup to King—Tompkins and Lewis nominated for Governor—Federalists divided—Pickering to King—President says Treaty nearly ready—Armstrong's Correspondence—Troup to King—Federalists to support Lewis—N. Webster to King—His English Dictionary—King to G. Morris—Possibly Jefferson obliged for national Honor to send the Treaty back—Troup to King—Democrat Wings bitterly hostile—Election in New York—King Candidate for Assembly—Emmet to King—Bitter Attack on Account of his preventing the Irish political Prisoners emigrating to the U. S.—Cheetham's Slanders—King's Answer.

The close of the year 1806 and the beginning of 1807 were periods full of events that engaged the serious attention of the country. The Emperor of France, flushed with his victorious career in Prussia, had issued his famous Berlin Decree against neutral trade with Great Britain ; that country continued to make outrageous depredations upon the commerce of the United States, and Spain, under the influence of France, refused to satisfy the demands of the Government at Washington, for the seizure and confiscation of American ships engaged in legitimate commerce. As a consequence of these various insults, the President and his

followers had suggested and carried out a non-importation act against Great Britain, which country he cordially hated and sought to compel to yield to our demands for redress, by crippling her commerce, her most vulnerable as well as most important interest. The remonstrances of the merchants in the large cities of the United States were unavailing to put an end to such measures, which were soon to be made more disastrous by an Embargo, which tied up all the vessels in their harbors and brought all commerce to a stand-still, while it really threw the country into the position of an ally to France.

This policy was earnestly opposed by what was left of the Federal party, which had always protested against the insults and outrageous conduct of France, who sought to make us break with Great Britain and thus join her in her efforts to destroy the latter's power. The leaders of the Federal party looked upon Great Britain as the bulwark of freedom against the pretensions of France to draw all nations under her rule, and therefore, though they could not but deplore, and seek to put an end to, the unwarranted and injurious acts permitted by the British Government, they had no hesitation in opposing French alliance, and in seeking by fair and honorable negotiations to remove all irritating questions between the United States and her natural and most valuable commercial ally.

These questions had been most thoroughly studied by Mr. King, as the correspondence already presented will show. He had, during his residence abroad, not only become familiar with the genius of the English people, but, in his intercourse with the leaders of public opinion, and with those who had at different times administered the government, had become convinced that a prudent firmness and open appeal to the justice of that country were certain to win not only confidence and respect, but to gain points which at times appeared insurmountable. So impressed had he been with these views, that he had urged upon his own Government to renew during the last year of his mis-

sion in England, the treaty of amity and commerce, which would soon by its limitation expire; because he believed that a new treaty more favorable could be made. His overture was not even answered by Mr. Jefferson and the opportunity was lost.

It may seem strange, and indeed it can hardly be accounted for, that there is so little in his correspondence at this time to show what views he took upon the various questions as they presented themselves to public attention. Allusions are made in some of the letters to him, to opinions he had expressed or was known to hold. It is certain that, through the newspapers, he attempted to enlighten and direct public opinion; for many scraps among his papers contain what were evidently suggestions for articles in the papers; but they are not so connected as to authorize publication here. They show, however, that being in private life, he took the only means in his power to influence public opinion; and they confirm the views put forth in such letters as are found; which were an entire disapproval of the course of the administration in the conduct of the foreign relations of the country, as wrong in principle and disastrous in probable results.

While the country in general was agitated with the consideration of the measures of the General Government, the State of New York became the scene of a contention which threatened to divide the Republican party in such a way, that there seemed to be a possibility that, through these dissensions, the federalists might be able to recover the State and erect a federal administration. The letters of Col. Troup give a graphic account of the political aspect, as viewed by an intelligent and shrewd observer.

R. Troup to R. King.

Albany, 6 Jany., 1807.

Dear Sir:

In a few days I shall set off on a journey to Chenango Point, to attend a meeting of Turnpike Directors. I shall be gone at least a fortnight and perhaps three weeks. Upon my return

there may not be time to make the communication which is the subject of this letter: and I now regret that my late absence from home and the preparations for my next journey, have so increased the pressure of my business as to prevent my going into details, and to oblige me to state what is merely the result of them.

I take it for granted that when our professional brethren come up to attend the ensuing February term, they will bring with them the definitive opinions of our New York friends as to the course proper for the Federalists to pursue at the approaching election for Governor. As these opinions will be likely to have a material, if not a decisive influence on the conduct of the Federalists in every other part of the State, it is very desirable that they should be formed on a clear view.

1 of the situation of the Federal party in the State.

2 of Governor Lewis's situation.

As to the situation of the Federalists, although it is better than it was, yet it is by no means such as to enable us to elect a Governor from our own party. For the present we must be content to rest our hopes of a future Federal State administration on the fall of the Democratic party by the weight of its own vices and divisions. To let the former take their natural course and to give root and vigor to the latter seem to be the melancholy course which genuine patriotism presents.

As to the situation of Governor Lewis, it is beset with difficulties on every side. The Clintonians have excommunicated him from the democratic church; and he must be very short-sighted not to see that the support he may receive from the Federalists will not proceed from any personal respect for him, but from a hope that he may be made instrumental to re-establish the reign of Federalism. In a situation so embarrassing, I think that he ought not to be hardly pressed, and that we should be reasonable and moderate in our expectations of offices from him.

I have good grounds for believing that the difficulties which lie in the path of Governor Lewis will force him, at least for a time, to be as sparing as possible of appointments from the Federal party, in case he should have a Council friendly to his wishes. There is some probability that he may be prevailed upon to appoint a Federalist to supply Judge Livingston's place on the

Bench. Such an appointment would be a great point gained to Federalism ; as it cannot be questioned that our Judiciary is the life-boat of our Constitution. With this appointment we must rest satisfied until after the election. I am convinced that the Governor's Cabinet is at this moment fixed in its purpose to make no other important appointment from the Federal party before the election takes place, from an apprehension that Federal appointments would stamp the Governor's administration with so strong a character of Federalism, as to shake the confidence, and endanger the support of his democratic friends. It is said that the union in the 5th ward at the last election in New York, and the subsequent voting of the alderman and assistant of that ward with the Federalists, have much injured the Governor's cause in the country.

You will readily perceive that if Governor Lewis should adhere to the policy above suggested, the Federalists will be excluded from participating in the Charter and other offices in the City of New York. They will so ; but how can our friends render their condition more eligible ? Will not its vigor in some degree be mitigated by removing the Clintonians, & filling their places with Lewisites ?

How will our friends in New York like this policy ? If it were abruptly made known to them, would they not with one voice determine to abandon Governor Lewis to his fate ? I suppose they would ; and yet I confess that, notwithstanding the apparent narrowness of Governor Lewis's policy in my opinion, we should support his re-election for the following reasons.

1. It is highly interesting that the Clintonian faction should be arrested and to attain this end, the re-election of Governor Lewis is a necessary mean.

2. Although the Clintonian faction may not be crushed by the re-election of Governor Lewis, yet it would serve to plant the seeds of lasting and probably irreconcilable animosity between the leader of that faction and the Lewisites.

By either of these events the public good would certainly be promoted.

When I left New York I felt, as our friends in general did, with respect to the City offices, and my feelings led me to agree with them as to the necessity of putting some of the most important

offices into the hands of Federalists. But since my return home I have endeavoured to separate the subject from my feelings and to bestow upon it a more dispassionate & mature consideration, and the result is that I have changed my opinion.

Well knowing the ardor & zeal of our few New York friends for the revival of Federalism, I dare not broach to any of them, except yourself, Governor Lewis's, very probable, not to call it settled, policy. Their disappointment, inflamed by honorable pride and more especially by the galling oppression they have long experienced, would probably excite them to measures which might be attended with the most unfortunate effects. As I know you have firmness enough to divest yourself of passion and to take a calm and accurate view of our political state, I have ventured to write you this letter in order to afford you an opportunity to consider the subject of it and prepare our warm friends in New York to meet their disappointment, if it should take place, with temper, with forbearance & with fortitude; provided you agree with me in opinion, that whether Governor Lewis should or should not appoint, before the next election, Federalists to charter or other offices in New York, it will nevertheless be our true policy to support his re-election.

The task I thus commit to you, if undertaken, will not be among the most easy you have ever performed; and therefore I suggest to you the expediency of beginning the execution of it without delay. The Legislature will meet on the 4th Tuesday of this month, and the following Monday our professional brethren must attend the Supreme Court. The honor of the Federalists & the ultimate success of their cause may be compromitted unless they are guided by the same motives, and act with concert at the next election.

It is our intention here to advise our friends in the Assembly, at all events, to vote for a Council favorable to Governor Lewis's views.

This letter is designed solely for your own eye. It is agreeable to the sentiments of two of our influential friends to whom I have shewn it. With most perfect regard

Robt. Troup.

P. S. Mr. Van Vechten has lately written a letter to Mr. Riggs in answer to one Riggs wrote him on politics which I wish you could

read. It will be important when our friends come up the latter end of this month, that we should know *your opinion*. Can you not desire our friend Judge Benson to deliver it? * I suspect it will be different from his—as the persecution of his family by the Clintonians gives a keen edge to his feelings.

R. T.

R. Troup to R. King.

Albany, 26 Jany., 1807.
6 o'clock P. M.

Dear Sir:

. . . Tomorrow is the day appointed for the meeting of the Legislature. The members are said to be here with a very few exceptions. Both parties are hard at work for the majority in the House of Assembly. No doubt is entertained that Lewis will have it, and that there will be a Speaker & a Council decidedly hostile to Clinton. The Federalists will vote on both of these questions with the Lewisites; some pains have been taken to induce the Federalists to make a bargain in relation to Federal appointments but without success. The general opinion of our friends here is, that we should act virtuously and independently —without any stipulation whatever.

Munro is here, squinting at the Mayoralty in New York, and it is reported that he presses a bargain with the Lewisites, but he has not influence enough to carry his point; *this entre nous.*

In haste yours,

Rob. Troup.

R. Troup to R. King.

Albany, 27 Jan., 1807.

Dear Sir:

As was expected, the Legislature made a quorum of both houses today. The Lewisites with the aid of the Federalists are completely triumphant; they have carried their Speaker & Clerk in the House of Assembly by a majority of thirteen. It was a part

* Whatever Mr. King's views were, he probably communicated them through his friend Judge Benson, in whose discretion he could implicitly rely.

of the plan to have chosen the Council of appointment to-day likewise; but by some misarrangement, they have adjourned without doing it, and appointed Friday next for the choice. This false step has excited some uneasiness; but I have no doubt that the soldiers will be kept in their ranks and that the second action will be as successful as the first.

Clinton and his party are supposed to be dished. The public sensibility here has been excessive, and the joy at the victory over Jacobinism not less moderate.

The Federalists were true to their test. I have not understood that one of the 16 failed in being at his post & doing his duty. No bargain was made. The conduct of the Federalists proceeded alone from a manly desire to break in pieces the fetters by which they and their friends have been so long bound. Congratulate our friends on their dawn of freedom.

McCord is Speaker, and Treasurer Lansing's son, the Clerk. The old Clerk, Southwick, a most wicked democrat is of course ejected; he has been Clerk for several years.

In haste yours,

ROB. TROUP.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

NEW YORK, Saturday, February 7, 1807.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

James will leave us to-morrow or Monday *—I feel some solicitude on account of the severity of the weather and the destruction of bridges in Connecticut—we must guard him against the frost as well as we can by warm clothing, and as I expect to find some discreet person going on, as far as Hartford, I am in hopes he will encounter no serious embarrassment in the Ferries.

We find James a good deal grown, and a very reasonable and docile boy. Mrs. Gore supposes he has lost a little of his levity, and that he is less cheerful than formerly—perhaps in ordinary this may be the fact, but as our family has for the first time for several years been reunited, and as at this season, New York is a sort of Carnival, at least so far as parties, dances, and dinners

* To take his place with Dr. Gardiner for instruction.

make a part of it, we have observed the same merry temper in James as formerly distinguished him. I recommend James to your & Mrs. Gore's protection. . . Our family are well at present, tho' most of them have suffered with heavy colds, and particularly Mrs. K. and Frederick.

We have no foreign news later than you have recd. nor do we know more of what is going on upon the Mississippi, or at Washington than the newspapers tell us. It appears that our Negotiators in England have not yet finished their Treaty, owing, as is said, to a difficulty respecting the seamen. I know not what they are ordered to claim or insist upon ; but I cannot be mistaken in believing that a most beneficial treaty might be made, and that the safety of this Country requires that small difficulties should not delay its conclusion.

In the scism that has taken place in this State between the Democrats, Lewis, whose party is only less bad than Clinton's, seems with the aid of the Federalists to have the power in his hands. I understand that the decided opinion of the Federalists is, to give their assistance in the Legislature to Mr. Lewis' Party, without expectation, contract, or pledge ; this course leaves our friends free to act hereafter as in their judgment the public welfare may require. You may have seen, but I am sure would have given no credit to, several articles concerning me, and certain offices that it has been intimated were to be given to me.

R. K.

R. Troup to R. King.

Albany, Feb. 17, 1807.

. . . I do not wonder that our friends in New York are disgusted to the very soul with the reports they hear from this quarter. The scene constantly exhibited here is the most sickening that can be imagined ! Lewis and his friends are divided in opinion, and starting from the sight of Federalists as from the sight of monsters opening their mouths to devour them. The consequence is that the State is to be disgraced by the proceedings of the Council. Yesterday Tillotson was restored to the the office of Secretary & Maturin Livingston to the office of

Recorder. Today the Council met but did no business. Judge Thompson, it is believed, has resigned the office of Mayor, and this creates a fresh embarrassment.' In short the Federalists here are so deeply disgusted with Lewis & his party, that present appearances strongly indicate a total separation of the Federalists from Lewis's election. I should not be surprised if the Federalists were to take up a candidate of their own & support him at the ensuing election ; some entertain sanguine hopes of success. Others think it a necessary measure to keep our party together & to prevent their contamination by so foul a touch as it would be to touch either of the Democratic parties !

Last night the Clintonians at a full meeting of their party nominated *Judge Tompkins* for Governor, Broome for Lieut. Governor ; and the Lewisites at a full meeting also nominated their Chief for Governor, and *Thomas Storm* for Lt. Governor.

What has added much to the disgust of most of us is, that some Federalists have been begging—intriguing—and working with all sorts of tools—for offices ! This vile business has been done by men who ought to be ashamed of themselves for thus wading thro' mire and filth to the seats of the Members of Council.

What course the Council will take hereafter, what the Federalists will conclude upon, or what will be the final issue of things, is as much a problem as the limits which will bound Bonaparte's ambition. In the Legislature everything affecting objects of a public nature is an affair of infamous traffic for votes at the next election. Tomorrow evening the Federalists are to meet to talk over the state of things and compare notes on the proper course for us to take. I will inform you of the result.—In haste

Very truly yours

ROB. TROUP.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Feby. 19, 1807.

DEAR SIR :

Probably you may have letters from London ; however, lest it should be otherwise, I communicate the pleasing intelligence that all our differences with Great Britain have been adjusted.

This the President announced in a message to Congress this day, communicating a copy of a letter from Messrs. Monroe & Pinkney, dated Dec. 27. These Gentlemen say, that they believe the terms will be acceptable to their country—that nothing remains but to reduce them to the form of a Treaty, the work of a few days, which they should send by a special messenger.

The President also communicated the correspondence between Genl. Armstrong and the French Minister of Marine, on the subject of the Decree, declaring the British Isles in a state of Blockade. The Marine Minister (his note is dated Dec. 24 in answer to Armstrong's of the 10th) says, the Decree, in his opinion was not intended to comprehend the U. States, whose commerce must be regulated by existing Treaties; but, however, that the matter does not lie in his department; and that for a definitive construction, Genl. A. must apply to the minister of Exterior Relations.

A letter from Cowles Mead (also laid before us by the President) dated January 19th, says Col. Burr had surrendered himself to the Civil authority of the Mississippi Territory. He had with him 9 boats and about 100 men, chiefly young and apparently ignorant of his designs. I am, dear Sir, very truly yours

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

NOAH WEBSTER TO R. KING.

NEW HAVEN, Feby. 28, 1807.

SIR:

I take the liberty to enclose to you a few circular letters* intended to make a new experiment in this country. The object contemplated has been in view more than 20 years, but has been retarded by my want of property to accomplish the design. When I left New York in 1798, I supposed my resources equal to the present undertaking; but the loss of my papers has disappointed my expectations. I cannot but hope however that the liberality of gentlemen of property will afford such addition to my own means as to enable me to prosecute the undertaking. The design, I believe, to be far more interesting to the public than to myself; but I have expended several thousand dollars

*Circular for his English Dictionary.

already ; I should be unwilling to abandon the undertaking in the midst of my labors.

. . . Your friendship I know, but I know not whether it will avail in the present instance.

With high respect yr. ob. Servt.

NOAH WEBSTER.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

ALBANY, March 12, 1807.

DEAR SIR :

I drop you this by Mr. Hoffman. The conduct of Lewis and his Council has given general disgust here. Opinions as to the course to be pursued by the Federalists at the next election have been fluctuating. At length, however, we have settled down in one which we shall adhere to, unless it should prove to be contrary to the sentiments & wishes of our friends—and that is, to support Lewis individually and in our several spheres as the least of two evils. This will be a bitter pill to most, if not all, the Federal party, and yet it must be taken or worse mischiefs to our country will be likely to ensue. The general, I might almost say the universal, belief amongst our friends in this quarter is—that we cannot succeed with candidates of our own. Mr. Hoffman will give you a particular detail of the State of things here.

The turnpike bill for your Jamaica road, I understand, is in the same situation in which Mr. Ditmas left it. The two Houses disagree as to the General Turnpike bill & this disagreement has not yet been terminated by a conference ; and until this event, it is supposed all new Turnpike bills will rest where they are.

I have got a bill for the relief of Sir James Pulteney & Lady Bath through the Senate. It is now before the house of Assembly and lies under the denunciation of Col. Rutgers. This denunciation endangers its finally passing : I mean, however, to press it and I do not despair of success.

You would wish to hide yourself in a corner, if you were here and could look for one hour on the scandalous scene which Democracy constantly exhibits !

I am, dear sir, very truly yours

ROB. TROUP.

R. KING. TO G. MORRIS.

Monday, 30 March, 1807.

DEAR SIR :

Some days ago Mr. Fairlie put the enclosed memorandum into my hands with a request that I would speak to you on the subject. Whether the Bill has yet passed I do not know. The Commissioners named are yourself with the two Surveyors Genl. of this State & Pennsylvania ; the object of the Bill is very important, and it is desirable that you shd. not decline giving to it your assistance. I shall see you soon in the mean time.

Am yr. faithful Sir.

R. K.

P. S. I recd. your Paper concerning the Impressment of our seamen but have delayed its publication in expectation of becoming acquainted with the Contents of the Treaty. Hitherto I have not acquired such precise information as I am still in hopes of getting. I am not sure that Jefferson was not *absolutely obliged*, if he regards the national honour, to send the Treaty back.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 7 April, 1807.

DEAR SIR :

The Legislature adjourned today about 2 o'clock. . . .

Tell Bishop Moore, Mr. Harison, &c. that the charter of Columbia College was met by objections of the Council of Revision agt. the bill for its destruction, and by a subsequent union of the Federalists, and Lewisites to vote agt. the bill. The New York Representation was much heated with the objections of the Council ; and alderman Gilbert in particular was transported with the most violent rage.

The two Democratic parties have gone home with bosoms rankling with bitter hostility agt. each other. One object of the Federalists is completely attained—an irreconcilable animosity between the Chiefs. As the Legislature was rising a most virulent attack upon Lewis by Clinton was spread in handbills amongst the members. The attack is a reply to Lewis' late answer to Clinton's charge relative to *Webbers*, who last winter, or rather the winter before last, applied to be appointed Sheriff of West Chester. I have sent one of the handbills to Mr. Harison.

The election will be a hard fought battle. We calculate however that the chances are with Lewis, provided the Federalists act with zeal & unanimity; all pains have been taken, and still are taking, to bring the Federalists forward in the Eastern and Western Districts; and our last accounts, from the westward in particular, authorize very favorable expectations. Let Lewis' election, however, terminate as it may, I am sanguine in the belief that we shall have a respectable share of Federal influence in the House of Assembly.

The Council of appointment have adjourned without appointing a Judge of the Supreme Court. It is said the Council will meet again soon after the election, and then the appointment will be made.

Very truly yours,

ROB. TROUP.

The election for Governor in the State of New York, involving as it did the endeavor to recover that portion of the Democratic party which was led by De Witt Clinton and his brother-in-law Judge Spencer, and the overthrow of the Lewisites, was entered upon with bitter feelings on both sides, and resulted in the choice by a large majority in favor of Daniel D. Tompkins, the Clintonian candidate.*

* "A young Lawyer of New York distinguished for his affable manners and pleasing address, chosen a member of the ninth Congress, but who, before taking his seat, had been appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State. . . . The Federalists, indeed, attempted a rally in the city of New York, where they nominated an Assembly ticket headed by Rufus King. They were beaten, however, an event which they ascribed, with much bitterness, to the predominating influence of those 'imported patriots,' Cheetham, Genet (who now again appeared on the political stage,) and Thomas Addis Emmet, a recent exile from Ireland, where he has escaped a prosecution for treason only by consenting to make certain disclosures, as to the conspiracies in which he had been concerned. Emmet had attacked King with great bitterness and no inconsiderable degree of gasconade for having, while Minister in England, endeavoured to interpose some obstacles to his migration to America on the ground that so troublesome a British subject would not be likely to be a very useful American citizen. It is exceedingly difficult for us at this day to comprehend the degree of influence exercised at that time by a few immigrant foreigners. The talents and eloquence of Emmet secured him a decided and growing influence in New York; and in the impulse which he gave to the spirit of war, he did not fail to fulfill the prognostications of King."—Hildreth *Hist. of New York*, 2d Series, ii., 668–9.

The Federalists were divided in their vote, but many, with some hope of being able to keep the control of the Legislature from the Clintonians, nominated what was supposed to be a strong ticket in the city of New York, with the name of Rufus King at the head of it. This ticket failed of election, among other reasons, perhaps, because of a malignant attack on Mr. King by Mr. Emmet, on account, as was stated, of his successful interference, when Minister to England in 1798, to prevent the British Government from sending the Irish state prisoners after the rebellion to the United States, as a place of banishment. The following letter addressed to Rufus King and published in *The American Citizen* of April 9, 1807, signed by Thos. Addis Emmet—a second, he says,—will show the bitter hostility and recklessness of statement, which marked the opposition to him ; and the answer from Mr. King which is now published for the first time, being found among his papers, will show both the motives which influenced him in making his protest against the proposed action of the British Government, and his forbearance in not then repelling the attack made upon him.

THOS. ADDIS EMMET TO RUFUS KING.

SIR :

From your silence on the subject of my letter of the 4th inst., I presume that I am not to be honoured with a reply. Perhaps this may be owing to my temerity in addressing him, whom Mr. Coleman calls " the *first* man in the country." Of the height to which your friends exalt or wish to exalt you, I confess I was not aware when I rashly ventured to question the propriety of some part of your past conduct. I thought that in this country, you had many equals ; and I protest I imagined that Mr. Jefferson, for instance, was your superior. You will, sir, I hope excuse my ignorance in this respect and attribute it to the circumstance of my being an alien, and of course not yet sufficiently acquainted with the local politics of this country.

Though you, sir, have not honoured me with your notice, I have been abundantly honoured by your friends ; and yet, ex-

traordinary as it may appear, I mean to pay little attention to their assiduities, but to envelop myself in dignity like your own. . . . I think it of infinitely more importance to the community in the existing crisis, to make known what *you are* than what *I am*. *You* are a candidate for public favor and *your* conduct is the proper subject of public enquiry. Mr. Coleman has brought forward some extracts from the reports of the secret committee in Ireland—I think it more than probable that he was not himself in the possession of these documents—from whom then did he receive them? There is no person in this country more likely to have them, than the gentleman who was at the time, the resident minister at London.

When you handed them to him, perchance your memory might have served you to state, that as soon as these reports appeared in the prints of the day, Dr. M. Nevin, Mr. O'Connor and myself, at that time State Prisoner, by an advertisement to which we subscribed our names, protested against the falsehood and inaccuracy of these reports; for which act we were remitted to close custody in our rooms for upwards of three months, and a proposal was made in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. McNaughton, an Orangeman, to take us out and hang us without trial. You might also have recollected (for it has been published) that while we were in that situation, other state calumnies reached the ears of one of our fellow-sufferers in another prison, who wrote a letter to the editor of the *Courier* in London, for the purpose of contradicting them, and inclosed a copy to Lord Castlereagh. For this Mr. Secretary Cooke was sent to inform him, that if he published the contradiction he should be hanged; that he replied that he was ready to meet the event; upon which Mr. Cooke told him that since he was indifferent about his own life, he must know that if he persevered, the whole system of Courts Martial, massacre and horror should be renewed throughout the country. By that menace he was effectually restrained. Had you thought of mentioning these things you might have jocularly added, that tho' these statements might serve some present party purposes, it was rather more unfair to judge of us by the calumnies of the Irish Government than it would be to judge of Mr. Jefferson and his friends by the editorial articles of the Evening Post.

The weapons you are using have been tried in Ireland among my friends and my enemies, where everything was minutely known, and they failed of effect. If I had ever done anything mean or dishonourable, if I had abandoned or compromised my character, my country, or my cause, I should not be esteemed or believed in Ireland as I am proud to know I am; I should not enjoy the affection and respect of my republican countrymen in America, as you, Sir, and your friends confess I do. It would not be in the power of one who had departed from the line of his duty in theirs & his common country, by simply expressing to them his sentiments of you, to do you such an essential injury as I am accused of having committed.

Another charge made against me, is that I am an alien, interfering in the politics of this country. Be it so for a moment, and let me ask why is it that I am an alien in this my adopted country this day? Because in consequence of your interference, I was prevented from coming to it in 1798, and from being naturalized three years ago. Supposing then that I should refrain from intermeddling with politics in every other case; where you are concerned I feel myself authorized to exerise the rights of a citizen as far as by law I may; for you know that it is an established rule of equity and good sense that no man shall be benefitted by his own wrong. But how do I come forward? Not as a citizen, but as a witness. Allow me to ask you if I possessed a knowledge of facts which could prove Mr. Jefferson guilty of a robbery, or a cheat and unfit to be trusted with power, would you think me culpable if, notwithstanding my alienage, I made them known to the public to prevent their being deceived and misled? And shall I not be permitted because in consequence of your own misconduct I am not a citizen, to testify to facts which will prove you unfit to be entrusted in this country with any kind of delegated power. . . . As a witness then, sir, I come forward to testify not to my countrymen, but to the electors of this city, to the whole of the United States, if you should ever aspire to govern them, and I now present you with my evidence.

In the summer of 1798, after the attempt of the people of Ireland for their emancipation had been completely defeated; after every armed body had been dispersed, or had surrendered, except a few men that had taken refuge in the mountains of

Wicklow ; while military tribunals, house burnings, shootings, torture and every kind of devastation were desolating and overwhelming the defenceless inhabitants, some of the State prisoners then in confinement, entered into a negociation with the Irish ministers for effecting a general amnesty ; and as an inducement offered, among other things, not necessary to the examination of your conduct, to emigrate to such country as might be agreed upon between them and the government. When I consented to this offer, for one (and it was the case with the great majority) I solemnly declare that I was perfectly apprized that there were no legal grounds discovered to proceed against me. I further knew that the Crown Solicitor had in answer to the enquiries of my friends informed them there was no intention of preferring a bill of indictment against me. So much for the personal considerations by which I might have been actuated, and now, sir, to return.

The offer was accepted ; the bloody system was stopped for a time, and was not renewed until after your interference, and after the English ministry had resolved openly to break its faith with us. On our part, we performed our stipulations with the most punctilious fidelity, but in such a manner as to preserve to us the warmest approbation of our friends, and to excite the greatest dissatisfaction in our enemies. Government soon perceived that on the score of interest it had calculated badly and had gained nothing by the contract. It was afraid of letting us go at large to develop and detect the misrepresentation and calumnies that were studiously set afloat and had therefore, I am convinced, determined to violate its engagements by keeping us prisoners as long as possible. How was this to be done ? In the commencement of our negociation, Lord Castlereagh declared as a reason for our acceding to government's possessing a negative on our choice, that it had no worse place in view for our emigration than the United States of America. We had made our election to go there, and had to have our agreement carried into execution. In that difficulty you, sir, afforded effectual assistance to the faithlessness of the British cabinet. On the 16th of September, Mr. Marsden, then under secretary, came to inform us that Mr. King had remonstrated against our being permitted to emigrate to America. This astonished us all, and Dr. M' Nevin very plainly

said that he considered this excuse as a mere trick between Mr. King and the British government. This Mr. Marsden denied, and on being pressed to know the reasons Mr. King could have for preventing us, who were avowed republicans, from emigrating to America, he significantly answered "perhaps Mr. King does not desire to have republicans in America." Your interference was then, sir, made the pretext of detaining us four years in custody, by which very extensive and useful plans of settlements within these States were broken up. The misfortunes which you brought upon the objects of your persecution were incalculable. Almost all of us wasted four of the best years of our lives in prison. As to me, I should have brought along with me my father and his family, including a brother whose name perhaps even you will not read without emotion of sympathy and respect. Others, nearly connected with me, would have come partners in my emigration; but all of them have been torn from me. I have been prevented from saving a brother, from receiving the dying blessings of a father, mother and sister, and from soothing their last agonies by my cares; and this, sir, by your unwarrantable and unfeeling interference.

Your friends when they accuse me of want of moderation in my conduct towards you, are wonderfully mistaken. They do not reflect or know, that I have never spoken of you, without suppressing (as I do now) personal feelings that rise up within me, and swell my heart with indignation and resentment. But I mean to confine myself to an examination of your conduct as far as it is of public importance.

The step you took was unauthorized by your own government. Our agreement with that of Ireland was entered into on the 19th of July—your prohibition was notified to us on the 16th of September; deduct 7 days for the two communications between Dublin and London, and you had precisely 41 days, in the calms of summer, for transmitting your intelligence to America and receiving an answer. As you had no order then, what was the motive of your unauthorized act? I cannot positively say, but I will tell you my conviction. The British ministry had resolved to detain us prisoners contrary to their plighted honour; and you, sir, I fear lent your ministerial character to enable them to commit an act of perfidy, which they would not otherwise have dared to per-

petrate. The constitution and laws of the country gave you no power to require of the British government that it should violate its faith and withdraw from us its consent to the plan we had fixed upon for our voluntary emigration. Neither the President nor you were warranted to prevent our touching the shores; though the former might, under the Alien act, have afterwards sent us away, if he had reason to think we were plotting against the United States. I have heard something about the law of nations, but you, I presume, are too well acquainted with that law not to know that it has no bearing on this subject. Our emigration was voluntary, and the English government had in point of justice no more to do with it than to signify that there was no objection to the place of residence we had chosen.

Another circumstance which compels me to believe a collusive league between you, in your capacity of resident Minister from America, and the Cabinet of St. James' is the very extravagant and unwarrantable nature of your remonstrance, which had the ministry been sincere towards us, they could not have overlooked. It they had intended to observe their compact, you, sir, would have been very quickly made to feel the futility of your ill-timed application. You would have been taught that it was a matter of mere private arrangement between government and us, with which you had no more to do than the minister to Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, or any other neutral power. What inference ought fairly to be made from the facts I have stated, every man must decide for himself. On me, they have forced a conviction, which, if you can shake it, I shall much more gladly forego than I state it here, that in the instance alluded to, you degraded the dignity and independence of the country you represented, you abandoned the principles of its government and its policy, and you became the tool of a foreign state, to give it a colourable pretext for the commission of a crime. If so, is it fit that you should hereafter be entrusted with any kind of delegated authority? What motives you may have had for that conduct, if, in truth it was yours, I cannot undertake to say. Mr. Marsden seemed to doubt whether you wished for republicans in America—and I shrewdly suspect he *spoke* what the British ministry *thought* of your politics.

Perhaps it may be said that you were yourself deceived by

those very calumnies of which I have complained, I sincerely wish I could believe that such were the fact—but observe this argument. We contradicted the mistatements of the committee of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, by advertisement, written in prison, signed our names, and published on the 3d. of September, it must have reached London on the seventh or eighth—your remonstrance must have been made before the 12th, for it was communicated to us on the 16th. The effect produced by our advertisement was electrical, and the debate which it caused on the very evening of its appearance, in the Irish House of Commons, was most remarkable. As you doubtless read the newspapers of the day, these facts could not be unknown to you. Why then should you be deceived by misrepresentations which we have recently contradicted under circumstances so extraordinary? Mr. King, did you enter so deeply into the revolution of your own country as to implicate your life in the issue of its fortunes? From the strong attachment of your political friends, I presume you were a distinguished leader in those eventful times; if not, you had certainly read their history. Did you remember the calumnies which had been thrown out by British agents against the most upright and venerable patriots of America? Did you call to mind the treatment which had been given in South Carolina to General Gadsden, to Gen. Rutherford, Col. Isaacs, and a number of others who had surrendered to that very Lord Cornwallis, with whom, through his ministers we negociated; and that these distinguished characters were, in violation of their capitulation and of the rights of parole, sent to St. Augustine, as we were afterwards sent to Fort George? How then is it possible that you could have been a Dupe to the misrepresentations of the British Government?

These remarks I address with all becoming respect to "the first man in the country"—yet in fact, sir, I do not clearly see in what consists your superiority over myself. It is true you have been a resident minister at the Court of St. James, and if what I have read in the public prints be true, and if you be apprised of my near relationship and family connection with the late Sir John Temple,* you must acknowledge that your interference as a resi-

* Mr. King, when a lad, was a servant to and wore the LIVERY of Sir John Temple, the near relative of Mr. Emmet. I assert this on the authority of a respectable gentleman in this city. Editor. JAMES CHEETHAM.

dent minister at the Court of St. James's, against my being permitted to emigrate to America, is a very curious instance of the caprice of fortune. But let that pass. To what extent I ought to yield to you for talents and information, it is not for me to decide. In no other respect, however, do I feel your excessive superiority. My private character and conduct are, I hope, as fair as yours—and even in those matters which I consider as trivial, but upon which aristocratic pride is accustomed to stamp a value, I should not be inclined to shrink from competition. My birth certainly will not humble me by comparison; my paternal fortune was probably much greater than yours; the consideration in which the name I bear was held in my native country, was as great as yours is ever likely to be, before I had any opportunity of contributing to its celebrity. As to the amount of what private fortune I have been able to save from the wreck of calamity, it is unknown to you or to your friends; but two things I will tell you, I never was indebted, either in the country from which I came, nor in any other in which I have lived, to any man, further than the necessary credit for the current expenses of a family; and am not so circumstanced that I should tremble *for my subsistence*, at the threatened displeasure of your friends.* So much for the

* It is said that on Monday evening last certain federal gentlemen held a private meeting at which they agreed to withdraw, or cause to be withdrawn from Mr. Emmet *federal* professional business put into his hands, and, as in the glorious times of '98, to combine to do him all the pecuniary injury in their power! Editor. JAMES CHEETHAM.

In J. Cheetham's *Citizen* of April 1, 1807, we find the following estimate of Mr. King.

"*Side view of Mr. King.*—Mr. King has crawled into public life we know not how. It is not however disreputable to him that from being the Page of Sir John Temple, at Boston, he is become the leader of the federal party in the State of New York.

We know how he was first elected to member of Congress. He resided in a democratic district in Massachusetts. What was to be done to gratify ambition? He became, as a federalist might term it, a brawling democrat, and professing democracy, and ingratiating himself into public favour, by his professions, he got himself elected a member of congress.

All this was right. It is a trite remark that libertines pay adoration to virtue by assuming her garb.

But upon merely professing man who can place reliance?

He who from ambition changes from federalism to democracy, will, for ambition, turn back from democracy to federalism. *Morgan Lewis knows this.*

Mr. King continued to be a republican, when republicanism flourished. I

past and the present—now for the future. Circumstances which cannot be controuled have decided that my name must be embodied in history. From the manner in which even my political adversaries and some of my contemporary historians, unequivocally hostile to my principles, already speak of me, I have the consolation of reflecting, that when the falsehoods of the day are withered and rotten, I shall be respected and esteemed, you, sir, will probably be forgotten, when I shall be remembered with honour, or if, peradventure, your name shall descend to posterity, perhaps you will be known only as the recorded instrument of part of *my* persecutions, sufferings and misfortunes.

I am, sir, &c.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

The history of Mr. King's agency relative to the prevention of the emigration of the Irish State Prisoners has been so clearly given in the body of this work,* that it would seem unnecessary to introduce any further proof of the falsity of the charges brought against him. We have, however, two distinct refutations of these charges † in Mr. King's handwriting. One of them, a letter to his friend Mr. Gore, Apr. 10, 1807, says:

do not exactly know at what period of our party contests *he changed his coat*, but we may safely conclude it was when federalism promised something better.

And he has in a great measure realized all that federalism promised. He has been a member of the United States Senate, where, with the assistance of Gen. Hamilton, he made a few good speeches, and, whence, through the instrumentality of that great man, he was sent minister to the court of Great Britain.

Of this court, as we shall hereafter show, Mr. King became the political dupe, as he was at the same time, an instrument of some pernicious schemes of Mr. Adams,—schemes not sanctioned either by the constitution or laws of his country.

It was not possible that a man so yielding to British policy, especially in relation to Ireland, and immigration generally, should not be acceptable to the British government.

He is said to have stood well with Pitt, and this good standing, since his return, has given him political consequence with the numerous friends of that premier among us.

But those friends should be informed, if they do not already know, that Mr. King is now thought very despicably of by the British government."

* Vol. II., Appendix IV., pp. 635–648.

† One in 1807 the, other in 1816 ; vol., v. p.

"We, without any important expectation, and with the embarrassment of a qualified support in respect to Governor, are here engaged in the approaching election. I have been prevailed upon to be nominated as a candidate for our assembly, and several of our most respectable citizens are united with me on the Ticket. This has awakened old animosities and brought up others of a more recent and malignant nature against me. Of course my reputation is daily assailed with the lowest and coarsest ribaldry. We have here several of the Irish State Prisoners, agt. whose banishment to America I protested in 1798; these men, who are not yet citizens, have arrayed a body of their countrymen, harangued them on the subject of Irish oppression, denounced me for having interfered with their being permitted to come to this country, and urged them to enter into a confederacy to resist my election. Emmet, their leader, an alien, a lawyer who has been admitted to our Bar, has addressed a letter to me, ascribing to my interference the death of his brother, and the oppression that he for years suffered in Prison. His performance is full of insolence, vanity and malignity, amongst other things, in a comparison of himself with me, he asserts that I was a menial servant in my youth to Sir John Temple, his relative (Rob. Temple's daughter, Hetty, married Emmet's brother) and my reputable opponents believe the assertion. I have resolved to enter into no explanations, leaving the Public to decide between me and these foreigners."

Though Mr. King published no answer to the charges made, there is in his handwriting an address:

"*Endorsed by R. K. Dft. of an address to the Pub. (never made) respecting my interference to prevent the Exile of the Ir. Stat. Prisrs. to the U. S.*"

It has it seems been deemed expedient for the purpose of affecting the federal nomination of Assemblymen, to make an attempt to awaken and enlist the national prejudices of a body of foreigners, who within a few years past have arrived and been naturalized in this city.

How far a step of this nature will be likely to impair the harmony and mutual assistance that in the mixed state of our

population, it should be the aim of good men to promote, the public will determine : most certainly no consideration which as yet should influence virtuous citizens, shall urge to measures of retaliation ; a momentary success, a partial triumph, the mere gaining of a single election would be but a poor consolation for having created a durable and dangerous feud between the foreign and native inhabitants of this prosperous city.

In the unworthy attempt to excite discord and hatred between the new and old citizens, various means and devises have been employed ; all of them unwarrantable and unworthy of being made use of by men who either respect themselves or love the country.

So far as these measures are calculated to injure the character of the federal ticket, by assailing the reputation of Mr. K., it has been done by repeating a charge, long since preferred, that in the year 1798 and during his mission in England, he interfered with the British Govt. to prevent the Irish State Prisoners being banished to America.*

I am not aware that any part of my conduct during my residence abroad is without the sanction of Government ; and considering the nature of the office I held, I might rest satisfied with this reflexion, and decline entering into a vindication of such particular measures, as however imperfectly understood, may become matter of newspaper animadversion especially as whatsoever is done by a forn. Minr. with the sanction of his Govt. becomes the act of that Govt., which he, more than another, is not bound to explain or to justify. I do not however perceive that I am required by any official duty to follow this course on the present occasion.

The Persons whose names have been brought into view in the publications referred to, I am willing to believe are in no sort privy to them, and I may, therefore, owe to them some apology for the necessity that compels me to allude to them and their conduct in a quarter where they were under no obligation to consult, or respect the opinion of strangers.

* As to an agency on his part in preventing their being sent to any of the other countries, to wh. they were at liberty to retire, or in any other manner interfering with them, their enterprize, or their confinement, every insinuation to this effect is totally groundless.

It cannot have been forgotten that after resisting the unremitted efforts of France for a series of years to acquire an influence and control over our public Councils, the struggle reached its crisis in the Summer of 1798. Then the question was to be decided, whether the affairs and Govt. of the Nation shd. continue to be placed in the hands of Citizens devoted to the liberties and independence of their country, or delivered over, as has been done in Italy, in Spain, in Holland, in Switzerland and in Germany, to men claiming confidence from their avowed attachment to France. The condition of the United States at this momentous period cannot be explained more distinctly, or with greater authority than was done at the time by the Father of his Country, in his letter to *the* President, accepting the office of Commander-in-Chief. General Washington's letter is dated July 13, 1798, and contains the following paragraphs :

" It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of or indifferent to recent transactions. The conduct of the Directory of France towards our Country ; their insidious hostility to its Government ; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the People from it ; the evident tendency of these acts, and of those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition ; their disregard of solemn treaties and the Laws of Nations ; their war upon our defenceless commerce ; their treatment of our Ministers of Peace ; and their demands amounting to tribute could not fail to excite in me correspondent sentiments with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress, such Laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis. Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted to the last drop the cup of Reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the Justice of our Cause, and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence, which has heretofore and so often signally favoured the People of these United States."

Congress appear to have taken a like view of the state of the nation, and after solemn deliberation proceeded to dissolve the

Treaties with France, to suspend all commerical intercourse with that Power, to declare a maritime law agt. her, and to pass such other Laws to protect and call forth the resources of the Country, as the greatness of the danger demanded.

It was at this crisis that the Irish State Prisoners, who had been apprehended in the preceding Spring, made a proposal to their Govt. to disclose the internal transactions of their associates, to furnish a detailed act. of their connexion with for. States, and to emigrate to such country, as should be agreed on between them and their Govt. engaging not to return without permission, & not to pass into an enemy's country.

The Report of the I. Parliament that was now made, and which professed to be supported by the confessions of the State Prisoners, which was annexed to the Report, not only disclosed their ultimate views and object, but bro't to light the secret agreement that subsisted between them and the French Directory.

The number of these prisoners is not remembered ; it is, however, known to have been large, and in the Month of September it became matter of public conversation in London that they were about to be exiled to America.

We were then at war with France, not only a powerful but most subtle enemy, knowing alike the arts of intrigue and the arts of war—The Councils of our Nation were not unanimous, and the body of our People were unhappily divided.

In this condition of the Country, does anyone believe, will impartial men contend, that these chiefs, many of them men of talents and held in high estimation in France as well as in Ireland,—that these directors of a mighty effort to divide an ancient nation, leaving their friends and country by compulsion, not choice, that these men foiled but not conquered, were likely in the existing situation of the U. S. and France to become contented citizens of America ?

I frankly avow that I did not think they would ; and I must have been profoundly ignorant of the passions of the human heart to have thought they could. Thus judging, I could neither mistake, nor omit the performance of my duty. Accordingly, supported by the principles of public law, which forbid one nation to banish or transport its subjects to the Territories of another, without the consent of such other, I did in the month

of September 1798, interfere with the Br. Govt. for the sole purpose of preventing the I. S. P. being banished to the U. S.

Whether my opinions and conduct on this occasion merit the censure or approbation of my country, is submitted to the judgment of all impartial men.

CHAPTER II.

Troup to King—Federalists stimulated by Attack on King and by Lansing's Declaration—Political Aspect—Troup to King—Lansing's Declaration causes Disaffection among the Democrats—Gore to King—Of the Abuse of King—Troup to King—Attack on Van Rensselaer—N. Webster to King—Pronunciation of *r*, or *t* preceding *u*, as *ch*—King to Webster—That customary among higher Classes—Cannot encourage him in his Work—Ingersoll to King—Loss of his Election—Troup to King—Trinity Church should rather make Provision for the Support of Clergy—Webster to King—Regrets his Despondence on the political State—Hopes it is not remediless—King to G. Morris—Wishes to discuss with him respecting Impressment—King to Gore—Impressment and Affair of the Chesapeake—W. King to King—When will Question with England be settled?—Gore to King—Will not support Sullivan—King to Gore—Embargo causes Alarm.

R. Troup to R. King.

Albany, 11 April, 1807.

Dear Sir:

The proceedings of the Hibernian Society and Emmet's attack upon you, have had a powerful effect upon the Federal Spirit in this quarter: we are all activity & all exertion, and by the next western mail we shall endeavour to infuse our spirit into the hearts of our friends in the Western District. The contest now seems to be for everything sacred in society, and the man who sleeps upon his post is fit for the oppression meditated against us.

Chancellor Lansing's declaration * will have likewise the happiest effect. The Clintonians will of course begin to abuse him & his friends. This will heat their resentment into a blaze. They are a numerous family and the Chancellor & Treasurer

* The declaration was that he had declined the nomination for Governor in 1804, after having first accepted it, because in an interview with Gov. Clinton, "an attempt had been made by them to induce me to pledge myself for a particular course of conduct in the administration of the government of the State." This he refused to give.

have considerable influence. It will also have the effect of drawing a line of separation between the Lansingites and Clintonians; and this is an object of no little moment.

Next week, and early in the week, the Chancellor's declaration, the proceedings of the Hibernian Society and Counsellor Emmet's confession, with General Nugent's proclamation here, will be in a course of rapid and extensive spread.

My accounts from the westward are of a very flattering nature. Mr. Gold of Whitestown in Oneida County, under date of the 6th inst. writes me thus. "Our nominations have gone abroad with appropriate addresses. Between 3 and 4000 handbills are put in circulation thro' every County in the District. If the Federalists do not succeed the sin of omission will not be found at their door." The ticket in Oneida County for the assembly is wholly Federal, and a Federalist is also on the Senatorial ticket. Mr. Gold goes on to say—"As to the probable result, I subjoin the following for this District; Although in the situation of parties there is much uncertainty yet I have very little doubt that this District will give Lewis a majority"—(of 800)—

From what I know myself of the Western District, I have no doubt that it will yield Lewis a majority at least equal to Mr. Gold's calculations, unless the exertions of our Federal friends should be less than they promise to be.

In this District (the Eastern) we calculate also upon a majority for Lewis. It will not however be large, not probably exceeding 500.

Mr. VanNess from Hudson writes us that things are going on well in the Middle District.

Citizen Genet's committee of vigilance and his addresses in Rensselaer County have produced nearly the same effect as those which have been produced in New York by the Hibernian Society & Counsellor Emmet.

In this District it was thought inexpedient to run a Senator. The whole Senatorial ticket consequently consists of Lewisites; but the Federal vote will, notwithstanding be unanimous. We shall swallow in one draft the Governor, Lt. Governor and three Senators. In doing this our friends in New York must allow that we have at least good electioneering throats! Even Mr. Henry, the most inflexible Federalist amongst us, has determined

on this course. So far indeed has zeal warmed us up that we are raising a fund to help the Lewisites to pay the expences of their Governor's election. If this had been asserted not long since it would have been disbelieved.

I observe that your ticket in New York is called the *American* ticket. Would not this be a favorable occasion for our party to assume a popular and significant name, free from the hobgoblins attached by many to Federalism. This is a subject worthy of serious consideration?

If Counsellor Emmet is not a little more cautious hereafter, he will stand a chance of being thrown over the bar. Judge Kent and Judge Thompson are very much dissatisfied with his conduct, and I believe from circumstances that Judge Thompson bitterly repents that he consented to Emmet's admission. Emmet is still an alien.

I wish the information I give to be mentioned only to our confidential friends. It would be impolitic for me to give the Clintonian Democrats a handle to injure the agency I have confided to me (the Pulteney Estate). Thus far they have been very friendly to it, barring Col. Rutgers, who carried little or no influence with him. When my bill was under debate in the House of Assembly, he made so violent an attack upon Lady Bath, that if I had not rescued her, by the aid of my friends, from his arms, her Ladyship, like poor Mrs. Williams in the hands of Webbenars, the Deputy Sheriff of West Chester, would have been at least in imminent danger of being *ravished of her chastity.*

In haste, yours

ROB. TROUP.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 15 April, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

Inclosed I send you the resolutious of the Albany Federal meeting of which I gave you an account in my last. I think our Federal friends in New York will not be ashamed of the sentiments we have avowed. I wish our example may be followed in every county of the State.

The answer of Spencer & Co to the Chancellor's declaration is

thought here by several of us to make the Chancellor's conduct appear to be puerile, and we apprehend the whole business will in the end do very little credit to his understanding.

The truth is that Clinton originally debauched Lansing, and drew him when he was a warm partisan from the party he was attached to and put him in the opposite ranks. Ever since which Clinton has patronised him and given him a currency to office & importance, which his slender abilities never entitled him to. I have no doubt that what passed between Lansing and his old benefactor & patron was wholly confidential. It is a little extraordinary that after the attempt to impose terms, Lansing should have consented to serve.

The effect, however, of the thing will be to sever the bond of union and to put the parties at a distance from each other. . . .

I am, Dear Sir, very truly yours

ROB. TROUP.

C. GORE TO R. KING

BOSTON, 17 April, 1807.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . I have observed the abuse, which an acquiescence with the Desires of your Friends has brought upon you. If any Doubt could exist as to the Prudence of your remonstrating against the Intentions of the British Govt. in relation to the Irish Rebels, the impudent Interference of Emmet in our Elections must remove them.

Sullivan is unquestionably elected Governour, and our Senate will be democratic & so will be the House of Representatives. . . .

Yours Sincerely

C. GORE.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 24 April, 1807.

MY DEAR SIR:

About half an hour ago, I received your favor of the 20th inst, for which I am much obliged. I made a pretty lengthy communication to-day to our friend Judge Radcliff on the state of things in this quarter. The letter was delivered to Dr. Dexter

of this place, who sailed this afternoon for New York in the Albany Sloop Cornelia, Capt. Staats. The Doctor expects to lodge on board the Sloop whilst he is in New York. I beg you to mention the circumstance to Judge Radcliff that he may send for my letter, which will be found interesting. I refer you to it for details I have not time now to write you. The mail will close in a few minutes. I just parted with the Governor at Judge Kent's door. The Governor had come from Mr. Van Vechten's, who has spent great part of the day at Mr. Van Rensselaer's. The account brought by Mr. Van Vechten is that Mr. Van Rensselaer's situation is dangerous and that the chances are agt. his recovery. The surgeons have made oath of his danger & I have no doubt the Governor was going when I parted from him to confer with Judge Kent on the propriety of issuing immediate process to apprehend Bloodgood, and probably Taylor and Cooper.

It is universally believed here that the attack made by these three men on Van Rensselaer was a concerted thing between them. They all had a hand in beating Van Rensselaer, though the supposed mortal blow was given by Bloodgood, with a bludgeon & with both his hands. It is said that Bloodgood has been armed ever since the affray; and as he has made himself scarce I rather suspect he will not be found by the officers. The death of Van Rensselaer will be attended with the most unpleasant consequences! *

Our accounts from all quarters give us reason to expect that the election will terminate favorably to our wishes in the Eastern, Western and Middle Districts. May our expectations be realized! The naturalization mill in New York, I fear, will defeat our assembly ticket. In great haste yours ROB. TROUP.

* The affray which resulted as above was caused during the heated political intrigues at Albany. Genl. Solomon Van Rensselaer, indignant at certain resolutions passed by the Clintonians at a meeting, stating their disbelief in a deposition made by the General and his brother, attacked on the street Mr. Jenkins, whom he believed to be their author, and after notice beat him with a cane. The parties named above defended Mr. Jenkins and caused the serious injury to the General. He recovered.

This statement is founded on an account published by Mrs. Catharine Bonney (daughter of Genl. Solomon Van Rensselaer), in a book entitled, *A Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, 2d ed., vol. i., 169. Mr. Wm. Kelby, Librarian of N. Y. Historical Society, furnished the above information.

NOAH WEBSTER TO R. KING.

NEW HAVEN, Apl. 27, 1807.

SIR:

My desire to obtain a correct knowledge of the history, as well as the present state of the English Language, has led me to make some inquiries respecting the origin of a late most important article in pronunciation. The change of *u* into *yu* or rather of *t* preceding *u* into *ch*, as in *nachure*, *virchue*. Dr. Johnson who was in England at the time, it took its rise, about the year 1770, informs me that when he first arrived in England in 1766, it was wholly unknown, but that it began on the Stage, when Sheridan, Powell & Holland were principal actors, near the time when Garrick retired, & spread first among young barristers & members of Parliament. I have long supposed & have now ascertained that it came from Ireland.

As you have had the best opportunities to ascertain the real state and extent of this corruption, I will thank you to inform me whether it is general or universal among the Londoners, of all descriptions, or whether it is confined to the higher ranks. Also whether it is general among the gentlemen of the country & in the universities. This, or any other, information you can give me relative to this subject will greatly oblige one who has the honor to be with great respect

Your obedt. humble. Servt.

NOAH WEBSTER.

P. S. The influence used in your N. York elections, if it should not produce riots & bloodshed, exhibits a melancholy state of moral and political depravity. Connecticut is falling into the stream of corruption; but from the best information I can obtain, the opposers of the present administration of the State Government, have made little or no impression during the last year.

Endorsed by R. K.: "Copy of letter from R. King to Noah Webster 1807,"—probably June 30.

DEAR SIR:

I stand in need of gt excuse for not having sooner replied to your letters of Feb. & Apl. Concerning the subject of the latter,

so far as my observation has enabled me to determine, I am disposed to believe that the usage of giving to t, before u, the power of ch, has become general among the learned & higher classes of Society in England. It prevails at the Bar, in the Pulpit & in Parliament—at the Universities, public Schools & Theatres, as well as among persons of fashion of both sexes. The tone of London in this, as in other cases, is that of the Country, among those whose minds and manners are influenced by fashion. In respect to the numerous body of Farmers, Manufacturers & Tradesmen, the innovation not having reached them, their pronunciation is that of the District in which they were born, or passed their early years. When this innovation commenced is a question concerning which I am without information, though I am inclined with you to ascribe its introduction to the Irish.

In respect to the more interesting subject of your first letter, I am sorry to remark that I am able to discern but little probability of your receiving adequate encouragement to continue to devote your time and talents to the important and laborious investigation, in wh. for so many years you have been engaged.

Neither learning, morals, nor wisdom seem any longer to be regarded as objects of public esteem & favour; and we behold few or no indications of such change in the opinions & pursuits of the Nation, as wd. afford a reasonable hope that a *wiser*, sounder course of thinking and acting is likely soon to prevail.

Wealth & power, or, in other words, money and office, have become the ruling passion of our People; and as these may be acquired without the possession of learning, we can be at no loss to understand, why there has of late years grown up among us a neglect of, and prejudice agt. Learning; why our colleges have become objects of jealousy; and why, instead of protection, attempts are made and encouraged to destroy their necessary discipline & government.

It cannot have escaped your penetration, that in nothing has this Country suffered a greater or more injurious change of opinion, than on the subject of education, which is known to have exerted the earliest and most anxious solicitude, of our forefathers, in the midst of their difficulties. They founded Colleges, their posterity in more favourable Circumstances neglect them. They looked upon Colleges as Schools of wisdom and

virtue, we behold them as nurseries of inequality and enemies of Liberty—and here as elsewhere, the unnatural genius of equality, the arch disturber of the moral world, is permitted to seek her visionary level, not by elevating what ignorance and vice have degraded, but by degrading what knowledge & virtue have elevated.

I have, notwithstanding my own persuasions, consulted some of the few persons with whom I am in the habit of freely conferring; but there seem to be so much torpor and want of exertion, such despair of sound principles and honest views, that even the best men are with difficulty roused from their lethargy, and even then appear to be restless and unhappy, until they have sunk again into their hopeless indolence.

In this condition of the many, and with this temper of the few who are not yet swept away by the torrent that bears us forward to the gloomy scene before us, I find myself unable to offer you the encouragement, that, on every consideration, it wd. afford me so much satisfaction to impart. My poor and limited succour shall not be withheld, but it is too insignificant to be mentioned or attended to & I can therefore only entreat you to be assured, that I remain with sincere Respect & Esteem, dr. Sir, yr. ob. & faithful Servt. R. K.

C. I. INGERSOLL TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, 14th May, 1807.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Should I congratulate or condole with you on the loss of your election? I imagine if it was not the wish of others, it could not be your own to be put up & pelted at by Irishmen & Frenchmen. The citizens of New York deserve to be stung for fostering that viper Emmet; and he deserves to be damned for that vain & absurd letter he wrote you. I mean damned politically, because it was egotistical, ignorant, and, I still hope, ill-judged. The baseness of the thing is nothing; that 's to be expected. It was the folly of it I thought must turn the cowardly thrust. . . .

Sincerely & respectfully yrs.

C. I. INGERSOLL.

R. Troup to R. King.

Albany, 1 June, 1807.

Dear Sir:

. . . The more I see of the progress of Jacobinism in the State, the more I am convinced that the idea you suggested to me when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, and which I find dictated the terms of the donation offered to the church at Geneva, *is a sound one.* I have no doubt whatever, between us, that instead of building churches to be taken possession hereafter by the Jacobins, the true policy of the Corporation of Trinity Church for spreading the Episcopal mode of worship, so friendly to Government, so hostile to Jacobinism, *is to make permanent provision for the support of Episcopal Clergymen.* I verily believe that under the present order of things a contrary policy will have no other effect than to waste the funds of the Corporation and to give Episcopacy but a temporary support. . . . With perfect Esteem &c.

Rob. Troup.

Noah Webster to R. King.

New Haven, July 6, 1807.

Sir:

I thank you for your favor of the — ult. & the information in answer to my inquiries. It gives me pain, however, to observe the spirit of despondence manifested by your remarks on the political state of our country. That state is really what you describe it; but were it certain that such a condition of things must continue, it would furnish to me, & I think it ought to furnish to others, substantial reasons for seeking amusement in literary pursuits, which by habit may afford the highest satisfaction, without the vexations, disappointments and endless perturbations which attend the pursuits of ambition.

But I hope our condition is not remediless; and perhaps the crisis is hastening which will lead, through many evils, to a remedy. A State of war or of extreme danger must necessarily tend to unite men who have been divided; and men of talents, whom demagogues have influenced the people to proscribe, will be solicited to lend their aid to defend their country.

There is one particular in which, I think, the leading gentlemen of the Washington School have uniformly erred. They

have attempted to resist the force of current popular opinion, instead of falling into the current with a view to direct it. In this they have manifested more integrity than address. They are men of independent minds, & unsuspected honor & honesty, and appear to consider it wrong to yield their own opinions, in the minutest particular, in favor of such as are more popular. But in this, I think, they err, either from scrupulous regard to *principle*, or from mistaking the means by which all popular governments are to be managed. Between the unbending firmness of an H—n, the obsequiousness of a J—n, there is a way to preserve the confidence of the populace, without a sacrifice of integrity. In morality, an honest man must make no concessions that violate the laws of right. But political measures are rarely connected with moral right & wrong ; at least the greatest proportion are mere matters of expedience & in these, I think, *honest, independent men of talents* should yield so far to popular opinion, as to *retain the confidence of the people* ; for without that confidence, they are lost in the scale of political measures ; but with it they may *gradually* wean the people from their most foolish schemes and correct their opinions. And it is vastly important that such men should not lose their weight of character ; for if *they* do not lead the people, fools & knaves will. I wish to see our distinguished statesmen regain the public confidence, and I believe they may do it without mean or criminal compliances. Absolute perfection in Government is not attainable ; & measures not the best may be rendered harmless, and even salutary by union of counsels. *Union* is of far more consequence than any degree of theoretical perfection in public measures.

I do not believe all that is published about the attack upon the Chesapeake. The real facts perhaps do not appear ; but with all possible palliations, it is an outrage, that deserves public indignation.* I hope it may not prove the beginning of very serious evils—evils which the return of the treaty and the change of ministry lead me to apprehend.

Very respectfully yr. obed. Servt.

N. WEBSTER.

* The affair of the *Chesapeake*, to which reference is here made, was one which at the time deeply agitated the country. It may be here stated that the frigate *Chesapeake*, about to sail to the Mediterranean, had among her seamen

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

JAMAICA, L. I., Monday July, 13, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

If the weather should be good, I think of making you a visit on Thursday with my Brother who is passing a few days with me here. I am the more desirous of finding you at home, that we may compare opinions on the subject which at present engages the public attention.

Always & faithfully,
RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

JAMAICA, 31 July, 1807.

I last Evg. recd. yr's of the 26th. I have not been able to visit you which every day's occurrences have made me desire.

I shall attend the Meeting of the Trustees of Columbia College advertised for Monday next, and invite you to meet me in town where we can examine a correspondence I had with Lord Grenville respecting the visit and search of national Ships.

Yrs. always,
RUFUS KING.

three men, who were claimed as British subjects. She was proceeding down the Chesapeake, in a condition of disorder on board, both as to armament and drill of her men, when, outside of the Cape, she was hailed by the British ship *Leander*, and while waiting for a communication was boarded by an officer from that ship, demanding, under instructions from Admiral Berkeley, commanding the British squadron on the American coasts, the surrender of the three seamen as deserters. Upon the refusal of Commodore Barron to give the men up, the *Leander* fired a shot and afterwards several broadsides into the *Chesapeake*, killing several men and wounding many. Unable from the unprepared condition of his vessel to return the shots, Com. Barron ordered his flag struck, and surrendered his vessel. His crew was mustered by British officers who came on board, carried off the three deserters and one other, and left—offering regrets for the loss of life, and assistance. This was indignantly rejected and the ship returned to Norfolk. As a consequence there was great public indignation and the President issued a proclamation ordering British ships of war from the waters of the United States and forbidding all intercourse with them.

See Hildreth's *U. S.*, vol. v., pp. 674–83.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

NEW YORK, Sep. 11, 1807.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Concerning our disputes with England, I have never believed they could end in war, unless Congress engage in the management of our foreign affairs. In the Treaty signed by Monroe & Pinkney, no provision was made for the property captured and condemned upon the new Doctrine asserted by England—their arrangement by which we are permitted to carry on trade with the Colonies of the Enemy of England would satisfy our Government ; and our Merchants wd. not object, provided they could not engage in the trade on better terms.

The question about Seamen employed in our Commerce has nothing new in it ; so that admitting that the Parties shall not be able finally to form a commercial Treaty, it does not follow that they must quarrel. The want of a Provision agt. Impressment, and some nonsensical matter concerning Bonaparte's Blockading Decree, were, I have reason to suppose, the motives for sending the Treaty back for further negotiation ; that they will come to any satisfactory agreement about the Seamen, is at least doubtful ; without it I presume the Treaty will not be concluded—but still things remain as they were, and there will exist no new motive for war.

But the affair of the Chesapeake : here I think the officers of both countries have done wrong ; our Commodore was guilty of a gross military indecorum in engaging Seamen, knowing them to be deserters from the English Ships of war. On this point there will be but one sentiment in Europe. This misconduct was however no justification of the attack on the Chesapeak.

Notwithstanding certain Dissertations which I have seen in the Repertory, it is never to be admitted that national Ships, which are national Fortresses over which there can be but one sovereign, are to be visited, searched and controlled by two.

The English will allow this right to no nation ; they cannot, and I think they will not, claim it of any. A case occurred while we were in England (the taking of 55 seamen out of the Amer. Sloop of war Baltimore by the Carnatic, Commodore Loring off the Havannah) in which I delivered a remonstrance to the Eng. Govt. denying this right and demanding satisfaction for the

injury. The answer as a preliminary one to an investigation on their Part, was entirely satisfactory, and fully authorizes the conclusion that England would claim no right to enter and search our Ships of war for Seamen or Enemy's Goods. I am obliged to break off here, assuring you of my sincere regards &c.

R. K.

WILLIAM KING TO R. KING.

BATH, November 28th, 1807.

DEAR BROTHER :

I am extremely anxious to learn what the probable result of the present misunderstanding with the English will be, and shall be much obligd. if you will give me your opinion frequently on this subject. I have nearly all my Vessels now in different ports of the United States, and have given directions for them to be laid up for the present although a moderate charter would be more than a hundred & fifty dollars a day for them.

Thus circumstanced you will readily suppose me quite desirous to be informed as correctly and as early as possible as to the time when our mercantile business can again be resumed with safety. Mrs. King requests to be named very affectionately to Mrs. R. King, whose attentions she is quite sensible of, in which I most certainly join her & remain affectionately your Brother,

WILLIAM KING.

There is no answer to this letter, though it is probable that one was given.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Dec, 25, 1807.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . I literally pass all my Hours in Courts of Law or preparing for them. The Politics of our degraded Country are, not less by Inclination, than Business, precluded from my Reflection. When the General Court convenes, I shall be obliged to devote part of my time to the local affairs of the State, which will be as bad as Vice & Folly can make them. Sullivan, always whiffling about, made some feeble and transient Efforts to appoint a few weak men, who were not decidedly Democratic to

office, & some of our sagacious Politicians thought that, by a proper management on the part of the Federalists, he might be restrained from doing evil. My own Determination was never to oppose his measures, except bad, but individually never to make the smallest advance towards conciliating such a Wretch ; and of course I never see him but on Business. He has & will bend to his Council in everything, and that is composed of the most violent & revengeful class of Democrats. Tell Benson that . . . I trust, so far as concerns myself, his Prophecy relative to the future support of Sullivan will not be realized, yet I will not undertake to answer for the Body of Federalists here ; for even Cabot thinks there is a Choice between the evil Spirits, which are destined to rule us, & that the locum tenens is not so malignant, as the Successor, which the times are preparing for us. . . .

Yours faithfully,

G. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Dec. 31, 1807.

MY DEAR SIR :

The embargo * has excited the most profound alarm, and will here occasion real and extensive distress. I have never seen so much anxiety and indecision in men of all descriptions. Persons of reflexion are filled with suspicions concerning the views of Government, whose concealments seem to have shaken the confidence of their most steadfast friends. The thousand rumours in circulation, joined to the darkness that covers the proceedings of the administration, have produced the strongest apprehension that it is meditated to bring about a war with England upon points of inferior moment, in order to avoid a decision on the insolent and humiliating demands of France. The embargo and non-importation together will amount to the shutting of our Ports agt. England—a measure which it is believed has been required by the Tyrant.

* The President in a secret message to Congress on the 16th Dec., recommended an Embargo Act, as a method of putting an end to the various outrageous acts of Great Britain, which was passed by both Houses of Congress and signed by the President on the 22d.

Facts of immense importance, and of the most suspicious nature, but of which the Country are utterly ignorant, are believed to have taken place—a war with England must be prevented or the nation is ruined. But how is this to be done? Boston is purely American; New York resembles the image of Nebuchadnezzar—you must begin—and with boldness.

Always & faithfully yours

R. K.

CHAPTER III.

Pickering to King—Case of Senator John Smith—Adams's Report—Mr. Rose's Mission—Embargo — Pickering to King—President withholds Information—Effect of Embargo—Mr. Jefferson will not make Treaty with England—Rose's Mission may be successful—Difficulties met by Mr. Rose before landing—President's Conduct—King to Pickering—Ruin and Distress from Stoppage of Trade—Thinks there is Danger of War if Embargo continues—Pickering to King—Jefferson says: England because of Bonaparte's Measures will not long exist—Mr. Adams relative to Embargo—Is War imminent?—King to ——Monroe's and Pinkney's Instructions—Armstrong's Letters—Not sent to Senate—France's Acts relative to Florida—Pickering to King—President will negotiate with Rose—Negotiation in London broken off—What will the President do?—Gardenier to King—Speculations about foreign Affairs—King to Gardenier—Rose should make Reparations—Impressment—Carrying Trade—Pickering to King—Armstrong's Letters withheld—Bonaparte's Requisitions.

T. Pickering to R. King.

City of Washington, Jany. 2, 1808.

Dear Sir:

No document has been before us, during the present session, more extraordinary than the one I now enclose—the report of my colleague, in the case of John Smith, Senator from Ohio.*

* Allusion is here made to the action of the Senate of the United States in the case of John Smith, a Senator from Ohio, who had been charged with "treason and misdemeanor" in the Circuit Court of Virginia held in the previous August, in having taken part in the conspiracy of Burr. A committee had been appointed, on the 27th of November, 1807, of which Mr. Adams was chairman, to take the matter into consideration, and was finally instructed to inquire whether it be compatible with the "honor and privileges" of this Senate that John Smith "should be permitted any longer to have a seat" in it. The committee made a long report, (*Annals of Congress*, 1st Sess., 1807–8, p. 56), with an examination of the facts, ending with a resolution that he had "been guilty of conduct incompatible with his duty and station as a Senator, and that he be, therefor, expelled from the Senate."

After a long discussion, extending over several months, the resolution of

To you any comments, if I had now time to make them, would be impertinent.

I learn to-day that the Statira Frigate with Mr. Rose on board,* arrived on Christmas day in Hampton Roads. He is hourly expected here.

Mr. A. [Adams] was vehemently zealous for the embargo. The President had recommended the measure to the "consideration" of Congress. In the Senate time was asked for the purpose of "*consideration.*" Mr. A. objected. "The President has recommended the measure on his high responsibility; I would not *consider*, I would not *deliberate*. . . . Doubtless the *President* has further information, sufficient to authorize the recommendation!" Such was his language. The President most assuredly did not *intend* that it should be considered. His confidential Senators and their followers were evidently *prepared* to adopt the measure without consideration and probably without information of its *real* object, at least the *majority* had not that information.

Although the Embargo is unquestionably levelled at Britain, and she might resent it, I trust she will not. By it we withdraw from the field, where alone we come in collision. She may be, content quietly to enjoy the monopoly of commerce which we voluntarily abandon. I hope she will adopt this policy, which, to me, seems evidently the best for her and for us. I believe at the same time, it would disappoint our rulers, who would be more angry with the British Ministry if the repeal of the law should be required not by them, but by the clamours of our own suffering citizens refusing any denial. In great haste your obedt servt.

T. Pickering.

the committee failed to pass on 9th April, 1808, the vote being 19 to 10—not two thirds, Mr. Pickering in the negative. Mr. Smith resigned his seat in a letter to the Governor of Ohio, dated April 25, 1808, giving reasons for retiring from public life. (*Ibid.*, p. 324.)

* He was sent to Washington by the British Government to make a settlement of the question relative to the affair of the Chesapeake.

T. Pickering to R. King.

City of Washington, Jany. 2, 1808.

Dear Sir :

This evening I received your impressive letter of the 31st of December.* The solicitude you describe has been felt at Washington by all those whom you will believe capable of discerning & pursuing the true interests of their country. Would to God I could relieve your apprehensions or satisfy your inquiries ; but the state of our actual relations to France still remains in the secret cabinet of the Executive ; for the short letter from Armstrong to Champagny, and the answer of the latter, related solely to the Imperial decree of Novr., 1806, why then (it may be asked), were they not published as well as Regnier's letter to the Imperial Attorney General ? I answer that their contents in *substance*, if not the letters in *form*, ought to have been made public ; for it appeared to me that Champagny's letter was more comprehensive than Regnier's. But it also contained a sentiment or two which I suppose Mr. J. would not wish to have appear in the public prints. And this circumstance justifies the suspicion (if the known character of Mr. J. renders any justification needful) that Armstrong's letter to Mr. Madison contains the demand which some members of the House (Masters particularly) boldly alleged. Of that letter we have not been furnished with a single sentence ; nay, for aught that appeared, when the documents from Paris were laid before Congress on the 18th December, they might have been sent by Armstrong under a blank cover ! I could not suppress my suspicions, and conversed with my friend Hillhouse on the Embargo, *as only another mode of shutting our ports against British commerce in compliance with the requisition of Napoleon.* We were not without apprehensions that the British Government might view it in that light, and, as a hostile measure, deem it a cause of war. Such were our first thoughts. Afterwards the idea occurred to me, which I expressed in my letter to you of this date, which I sent in the mail with a report of my colleague concerning Mr. Smith, a Senator from Ohio. I hope I am not mistaken in what seems so obvious a course of policy to be adopted by G. Britain. Will she not see at the first glance that the Embargo, tho' aimed directly against her, will do most

* This letter is not found. See letter to C. Gore of same date.

injury to ourselves? Of consequence, that *we* shall soonest grow weary of it, murmur, clamour and force its repeal? In the meantime, Britain, smiling at the sufferings inflicted by the folly and wickedness of our idolized rulers, may well be content with the commerce of the world; of which we voluntarily give her the monopoly. As soon as we come to our senses (and assuredly the distresses of multitudes and the losses & sufferings of all classes of people, will open their eyes—at least on this subject) and raise the Embargo, I expect our commerce will be resumed; tho' under such restrictions as the measures of her terrible enemy will compel Great Britain to impose. With all the British dominions we may enjoy a free trade; with little hazard from French privateers. And will the pride and wrath of Bonaparte render him for ever obdurate? Will he for one year, or even a lifetime, be deaf to the wishes of his immediate subjects, and to the cries of Continental Europe, for the admission of the products of the two Indies? When the tyrant relents, then our commerce may be again extended to France and all her Vassal States.

From what I have seen during the present session and from the whole train of Executive proceeding, since he sent back the British Treaty, I have come to this deliberate conclusion *That Mr. Jefferson has determined not to enter into any treaty of amity and commerce with Great Britain.* Probably he dreads the resentment of Bonaparte. You will remember that the French Directory affected to consider Mr. Jay's treaty as equivalent to an alliance with Britain, and an act of hostility towards France. Mr. Jefferson knows that he cannot obtain a treaty in any measure so advantageous as Mr. Jay's; and after the revilings and execrations cast so liberally, by himself and partisans, on that treaty, would it not be too much to expect from him (tho' debased as his mind must be) a sincere attempt to negociate a treaty which, on comparison, cannot fail to expose him to some disgrace? I do not believe that his attempts have been sincere. And therefore he has made and insisted on concessions which he was morally certain Great Britain would not yield: Such as the absolute protection of all seamen sailing under the flag of the United States, in all our merchant vessels; and the free carrying trade on the coasts, and between the mother-countries and colonies of her enemies. Could he have obtained these points,

Bonaparte might have been satisfied, and have approved of a treaty which secured them.

I do expect that Mr. Rose will tender reasonable satisfaction for the attack on the Chesapeake and that it will be accepted. For after all the *stout* declaration of the Executive, as uttered by the voices of his partizans, he must accept it—or go to war. This affair being adjusted, Mr. Rose will return home : unless he is commissioned for the permanent minister : and as he is reported to be an able, well-informed man, I sincerely wish he may remain. Such a minister, sagacious, vigilant and firm, would have it in his power to do much towards preserving peace, & promoting the interests of the two nations.

Admitting that fear or treachery prevent an amicable treaty with England, and at the close of the negociation, the Embargo remains unrepealed ; and especially, if our administration have the hardihood to prolong it, in defiance of the distresses of the country (a hardihood I can scarcely imagine), what would be the true policy of Britain ? Are my ideas on this point correct ? Have the goodness to favour me with yours. Sometimes I fervently wish the Lights of our Country were here ; but then again, I see that they would serve only *to make darkness more visible.* While the efficient influence of one Man remains ; while the popular mass are the dupes of his imaginary virtues ; while great majorities in both Houses repose a blind confidence in his supposed wisdom : and in default of all or any of these, while the views of the dominant party bind them together, *to secure their exclusive interests ;* those of our country will be sacrificed. I know not but that they might be hurried into a war, as they were into the Embargo.

I have been confounded in my attempts to account for the conduct of our rulers. There were threats and speeches denouncing war, but no adequate preparations to meet it ; negociations and pacific professions—with daily insults and irritations. At length I considered (and it removed my embarrassment) that when Wickedness and Folly combined to direct the affairs of a nation, a wiser head than mine would be puzzled in the investigation.

January 3.

More negligence, or purposed difficulties : notwithstanding the current reports that Mr. Rose was just at hand, we do not

know that he has even landed from the Statira! It was but yesterday, that in answer to my enquiry about Mr. Rose, Saml. Smith told me, that on her arrival near Norfolk, her commander applied to Capt. Decatur for information as to the reception she might expect: that Decatur wrote a polite answer tendering his services; but referring him to the Collector of the Port: that the Collector conformably to his instructions, permitted the frigate to take a suitable station. And Smith took the occasion to pay a general compliment to our naval commanders for their handsome style of writing.

But Mr. Rose is not yet arrived. I have just asked Genl. Smith what difficulties have occurred. He answered, That when the application was made at the Collector's office, the Collector was absent, and his clerk referred the applicant to the President's Proclamation! I since learn (and this doubtless is more correct) that Mr. Rose enquired—Whether the Statira would be hospitably received and supplied with all the provisions & refreshments requisite for her, after such a voyage; and that he should not think it proper to land until he was satisfied on this point; and that at Norfolk such satisfaction could not be obtained. On the part of our Government could deliberate enmity manifest more perverseness?

Later—The embarrassment was stated to Mr. Erskine*; he applied to our Government this day & sent off an answer by express.

I did long believe that our administration had not seriously thought of war with Britain. The alarm of war, industriously circulated thro' the U. States, was evidently artificial. Having waited until his leaven had fermented thro' the whole mass, and produced a violent effervescence, he then sent the Revenge, with his impracticable instructions to Monroe; possibly, however, in the hope, that under the actual pressure of the times, he might extort from Britain a concession of points which she had hitherto immoveably maintained. He was disappointed. What has since been his conduct? With pacific professions on his lips, an undeviating course of hostile acts or most provoking irritations, under the insidious garb of patriotism and a spirited maintenance of the rights and honour of the nation; thus enlisting the pas-

* The British Minister at Washington.

sions of the people to justify his pernicious measures. What then is he seeking? Anything but an amicable treaty with Britain. What can be the principle of his policy? Your Mumford lately said, Britain would ere long lose its independence; that she could not hold out more than nine months, certainly not beyond a year. Will you doubt whether he received this idea from the President? I am inclined to believe that the President has expressed it. I have received information (and not I only but others of my fellow-lodgers) that when the President was sending back Monroe's treaty, with fresh instructions, it was suggested that these would render a treaty impracticable. He answered—*It is of little moment whether we have or have not a treaty; the British will soon cease to be a nation.* This sentiment was communicated to Mr. Tracy on his death-bed. Well then may apprehensions be excited, "that the dearest interests of our country is confided to treacherous hands." "Consider of it, take advice and speak your minds." Faithfully yours

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

January 7, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

I have duly received your letter of the 2nd, and cannot fail to express my serious regret that the Report in the case of John Smith was drawn up by your colleague. The times are not such as allow men of learning to express slight opinions concerning the forms and independence of the Judiciary; under any circumstance a want of consideration in this respect would be indiscreet; at a period when so much war & prejudice prevail concerning the importance of this Department of Govt. it is eminently the duty of enlightened men to avoid everything that may seem to justify & encourage the innovations which ignorant & wicked men meditate.

I have not time to give you a view of the ruin & distress that the stoppage of all trade has produced in this city. Bankruptcies follow each other daily, and the distrust that exists among men of business will oblige many more to stop payment. The Custom House Bonds will not be paid, and every motive of policy calls upon Congress to prolong the payments.

There is not a particle of doubt that full Reparation will be made for the affair of the Chesapeake; nor will any honest man be persuaded that the business of impressment is now more than heretofore cause of War. If England in more prosperous times refused to relinquish the service of her seamen, will she be likely to make the sacrifice, when her enemies have increased, and her own means are lessened? Does it import with the character of a statesman to urge a contested demand just when the pride of his opponent is enlisted against him, or when despair, careless of consequences, may dictate the answer?

I think there is danger of war with England: if we persist in the Embargo, which must very soon be equivalent to the entire arrestation of foreign commerce, it is my belief that England will interpret the measure to be a compliance with a French Demand to shut our ports against England, in which case she will not hesitate to strike. I have no more time before the post.

Most faithfully yrs.

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Jany. 9, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

I have renewed my enquiry concerning the declaration of Mr. Jefferson last Spring, when he was sending back the British treaty. A gentleman present, intimate at the palace & with Mr. Madison, remarked, *It might give offence to the British ministry & embarrass or prevent further negociation.* To which Mr. J. answered to this effect. "It is of little consequence whether we have or have not a treaty with Great Britain. By the measures pursued & pursuing by Bonaparte, her government will not much longer exist." I do not know but I mentioned this anecdote to you in a long letter I wrote you a few days since in answer to yours of ——. It was given by the gentleman himself, who addressed the remark to Mr. Jefferson, to Mr. Tracy then remaining sick in this city, and by Mr. Tracy repeated to the gentleman from whom I have received it.

Will not this explain his mysterious conduct, involving contradictions of character? His popularity has risen on his constant

pacific profession yet he has for months past, by seizing every opportunity to irritate, been provoking war. But tho' war is forever on his tongue & the tongues of his partizans they make no effectual, or even plausible, preparations for that event. If Britain be subjugated, *we* shall want neither fleets nor armies; our duty & interest will be to submit. Is that the result he anticipates? "I 'm weary of conjectures." Adieu

T. PICKERING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Jany. 11, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

I have recd. your letter of the 9th. In one of mine to you, I think I stated Mr. Adams's extraordinary zeal to pass the embargo bill "without consideration," without "deliberation." This was Friday Dec. 18th, on which day the bill was brought in, read a first, a second and a third time and passed. Now read a resolution which he this day laid on the table.

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed with leave to report by bill or otherwise, and instructed to inquire at what period the present embargo can, consistently with the public interest, be removed, and whether, in what manner and to what extent, upon its removal, the merchant vessels of the United States, shall be permitted, in defence of their lawful commerce, to be armed against, and to resist foreign aggression."

I suppose this originated with the mover: for the democrats in Senate do not like it. It is but a few days since some of them were chuckling at the acquisition of so able a partisan. Those of us, who were acquainted with the character, knew that their rejoicing would be short-lived. We knew that *he* would not always follow, and that *they* would not be led by him.

Mr. Giles arrived a few days ago. In conversation today about Mr. Rose, he said it was a pity, when there were so many serious matters to adjust, that we should quarrel about trifles; referring to the obstacles, arising out of the President's proclamation, to his landing. But soon after added, that it might be as well for Mr. Rose to go back without landing. This suggesting a consequent war; Mr. Giles said "I believe we shall have war." But

he only expressed his own opinion; for he had not seen the President since his arrival. It was observed that notwithstanding the right claimed by Britain to take her own seamen from our merchant ships, and to restrain the commerce not allowed in peace, which we carried on for her enemies, we had prospered beyond all example in private wealth and public revenue: should we then go to war to obtain a renunciation of these claims? Why he thought not; but he would not acknowledge the *right.*

On the Friday before the adjournment of Congress, in March last, Mr. Hillhouse dined with Mr. Erskine. Mr. Giles was also a guest. The British treaty was daily expected. Mr. Giles said, "If it does not contain a specific provision that the flag of the U. States should protect those sailing under it, it will be sent back." Then, said Mr. Hillhouse, you may depend on it, that it will be sent back.

Last evening, Marsters of your State was at our lodgings. He is a native of Connecticut and called to see his acquaintance from that State. He said that one of his colleagues informed him, that the administration had inquired *what portion of the New York delegation would agree to a declaration of war if the measure were proposed? You may tell them,* (said Marsters) *that not one will vote for it.*

To day Capt. George Izard was in the Senate Chamber. In conversing, he said, he was with his brother going to South Carolina, but said he "we are fighting men"; and intimated a wish to know what we were doing. He then told me that he had been *officially* asked what federalist (or federalists) in South Carolina retained health & vigour, and would be willing to accept a military command (or military commands). "Would General William Washington accept one."

Now whether this inquiry had reference to war—or to the command of the existing army—I cannot pretend to say. The testimony of Mr. Clarke, of New Orleans (a man distinguished for intelligence & fortitude) this day given in the House of Representatives, has completed Wilkinson's damnation. It implicates many other *patriots;* and I am told that some other evidence from Pennsylvania proves the Executive to have been long possessed of the material facts. The opposition to inquiry, made by the President's friends, carries suspicions to the palace. You

will recollect the insurgent spirit of Kentucky in 1793–4, when General Washington deputed Coll. Innes (brother to the present district judge of Kentucky) to confer with and pacify the people of that State. You will also recollect the various engines set to work by Th. J. to disquiet and undermine the federal administration. Was "the hand of Joab" in the Kentucky clamour?" . . .

Faithfully yours,
T. PICKERING.

FROM R. KING (*in his handwriting not signed*) TO ——.

NEW YORK, January 14, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR:

From all we know, and indeed from what we are not permitted to know, concerning the views of our Govt. there seems to me to be very serious cause of alarm. In respect to England, every communication with its Government, together with Proclamations, orders of Council and Indian Speeches prepared by Gov. Hull have been laid before Congress. Reparation for the attack upon the Chesapeake, the protection of all Seamen employed in the Merchant Service, and a free trade between the Ports of the Enemies of England, including the colonial trade, as well between the mother Country and the Colonies, as between the latter and the U. S., formed the three principal points of Monroe & Pinkney's Instruction; all of which were made Ultimata—None of which except the first were countenanced by the Eng. Cabinet.

Nothing is communicated respecting France. The Letter of Regnier to the Atty. Genl. had appeared in the News Papers before it was laid before Congress. Champagny's & Armstrong's Letters, which the President desired shd. be returned to him as unfit for publication, merely respected the Decree of Berlin; Armstrong having asked of the Minister explanations, and he having in Reply answered in correspondence with the Letter of Regnier to the Atty. Genl.

There was nothing else in these Letters. They might have been published, indeed ought to have been, as they constituted the official notice of the Interpretation of this Decree in violation of the Convention between us & France.

When Armstrong asked a like Explanation of the Minr. of the Home Department, and he gave him a vague and unofficial answer, these were sent to Congress & published and the President told us that our Commerce was to be excepted from the operation of the Decree—now he has the official denial that such wd. be the Interpretation, he conceals it.

There was another motive, which was, to lead the public to believe that these letters from Armstrong and Champagny disclosed our situation as regards France, and tho' the President would not permit their publication, that he did not conceal the information from Congress.

Not one letter from Armstrong or Tureau has been laid before Congress, a majority of whom vote down all enquiries, and give their sanction to all measures recommended by the executive. The Virginia Legislature has come forward to sanction these proceedings, equally ignorant as others respecting our real condition. Their Intemperance towards Eng., and silence concerning France shew the hand that influences them.

The negotiation for the Purchase of the Floridas has failed, equally with the attempt to settle the Boundaries of Louisiana. Bonaparte avows that he has *obtained* the Floridas, and is now preparing a Body of Forces to take Possession of them ; such at least is my Information and Belief, and this I am confident is known to our Govt. He has beyond Doubt, in what form I know not but in substance, required that we shut our ports against England, and abstain from all Commerce with her Dominions. I add another fact, within fifteen months France has remitted to their Man of Confidence in this Country one million Eight hundred and Fifty thousand Dollars, of which Sum, the Revenge, that lately arrived from France was the Bearer of an order for half a Million. This money comes out of the Mexican Dollars which have of late been pouring into the Country. If the application of this immense treasure is designed, as I cannot but fear it is designed, to prepare the U. S. for the fate wh. has awaited other and stronger Countries, what ought to be the course of those, who alone can save the freedom and Independence of the Country.—Let us not suppose that we are more virtuous than other states—the error wd. I fear be a fatal one.—rather let us bring our attention to facts that singly considered are only sur-

prizing, but when brought together, shd. induce us to apprehend that America may have her Melzis, Schimmelpennincks, Haugwitz, Cobenzels and Princes of Peace. Have we not produced a Randolph, a Sebastian, an Innes, a Wilkinson & a Burr.—a Vice Pr., a Secy. of State, a judge, a Senator and a Commander in chief.

Ends thus and no signature.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Jany. 15, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

Judge Pendleton proposed to leave this place to-day, in the stage for New York; having satisfactorily accomplished his business with the Secretary of Navy. As soon as this terminated yesterday, finding Mr. Smith very pleasant and apparently in a communicative mood, he entered into conversation with him on the state of public affairs; assigning as a motive, the general anxiety & yours in particular to learn what was to be expected.

Mr. Smith told him, that the President had determined to receive Mr. Rose, and negociate with him, even if his powers were limited to the single affair of the Chesapeake! And added, that it was a case by itself and unconnected with any other point of difference between the two nations! He conversed also about the impressing of Seamen, and the offers our Government had made of substituting other measures, which would supersede it; but which were rejected. Something also was said about our carrying on the Colonial trade of the enemies of England with the mother country: *but not one word about France.*

Such is the information Judge Pendleton gave me. I have not time to state particulars; besides you will soon receive it more exactly and minutely from him. I anticipate this, in order to make a few observations.

The Negociation in London was broken off because the President had tied up Mr. Monroe's hands, by forbidding him to treat on the affair of the Chesapeake but in connection with the other points in dispute.

About six weeks ago, when Judge Van Ness was here, I under-

stood that the President said to him, that if Mr. Rose's powers were confined to that single object, he might as well not come at all. And within a few days, in conversation with Mr. Giles (who however professed not to know the views of administration, not having then seen the President—Mr. G. came to Washington last week) that gentleman said, *that Mr. Rose might as well go back again without landing*. The immediate occasion of the conversation was, the little embarrassments which had arisen at Norfolk, for want of special instructions respecting the frigate in which it was known he was coming. The National Intelligencer makes a flourish, this day, of the facilities rendered by the Executive for his prompt reception.

Whence this change of profession & conduct? Does the President perceive that the extensive mischief of the embargo will hazard his popularity? Does he seek a pretence for removing it? Will the general joy on its repeal prevent an enquiry into the reasons for imposing it, and so save him from reproach, should it be removed on an adjustment of the affair of the Chesapeake? Or has he determined to receive & treat with Mr. Rose, even on that single point—to demand reparation, which G. Britain cannot grant without humiliation—and then, on failure of the negociation, endeavour to fix the blame on Britain? Does not the astonishing blindness of the people, their wilful or stupid confidence in the President authorize him to practise any gross deception on their credulity?

After you shall have conversed with Judge Pendleton, I shall be greatly obliged by a communication of your ideas on this subject, as well as on the general state of affairs; I will make only such use of them as you shall prescribe. At the same time I know that the communication would be very grateful to a few select friends, if they may be imparted to them.

Judge Pendleton went away satisfied that we should not have war, grounding his opinion chiefly, if not wholly, on the conversation of R. S. For myself, I desire that my conjectures may be received with caution; for where no fixed principles direct an administration, the well-formed opinions of today, may be overthrown by the instability of tomorrow.

I am with great truth, Dear Sir, ever yours,

T. PICKERING.

BARENT GARDENIER TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1808.

SIR :

. . . In the present critical posture of our affairs in relation either to one party or to the Nation, it is peculiarly important that the Federalists in Congress should possess all the Lights which it is in the Power of those who are out of that Body to afford them. Mr. Rose is at length arrived. I have not been able to learn the manner of his Reception. But I am induced to think our Administration begin to perceive that the public sentiment will not bear them out in the Course of Conduct they had intended to pursue towards England, and of which the Embargo was without question the commencement.

Why Mr. Jefferson refused to communicate to Congress the Letters written by Armstrong to this Government at the time he communicated the Determination of the Emperor to put in force the Decree of November 21, 1806, remains still as inexplicable as ever ; if it be untrue, as was strongly urged in the Debate on the Embargo, that Buonaparte had demanded that We should make common Cause with him against G. Britain. Indeed the Letter of Champagny, of which you must so often have seen mention made, goes a great way in support of that Conjecture. I have been unable to find any other Key to this Mystery—indeed for everything here is Mystery, at least to federalists—and we must grope our way in the dark as well as we can.

Nothing decisive has yet transpired in regard to the ensuing presidential Election. One thing however appears pretty certain ; Clinton cannot compete successfully with Madison. The latter it begins now to be thought will find a much more powerful Antagonist in Monroe, who is said to have a majority of the Virginia Legislature in his favor. The Federalists here feel a strong partiality for him. But after his treatment to Hamilton & his Book, I can never set my heart upon him. Madison & Monroe are to me "*par ignobile fratrum*"—*procul, o procul este profani.* I have had enough of quidism, that political Hermaphrodite.—I hope our N. Y. politicians are no less sick of it. I am not without strong hopes that an Act will be passed this Session to remove the Government to Phila.

I am with much respect yr. obedt. Servt.

BARENT GARDENIER.

Draft of a letter from R. KING TO B. GARDENIER.

24th Jany.

SIR :

I have duly recd. and beg you to accept my thanks for your obliging letter of the 16th. We have seen with no small satisfaction the distinguished part you have taken in the late debates of Congress, and although you do not always succeed in the attainment of your purpose, the effect will not be lost, since I cannot but persuade myself that exertions such as yours, made at the present juncture, have no small influence in opening the eyes of men whose blunt confidence has hitherto prevented them from seeing the danger of the country.

With regard to our affairs with England, if Mr. R. [Rose] be a man of talents and temper, he will prevent a rupture between the two Countries in spite of the desire, if it exist, to the contrary. He may and ought to repudiate the affair of the Chesapeake from every other matter. This he has power to do, and I have no doubt will do. His Government having publickly renounced the claim to search national ships, Mr. R. should have no scruples in making the most ample reparations for the injury we have received.

In respect to the question of British seamen in our employ, I have no belief that Mr. R. is authorized to relinquish the right of searching our merchant vessels for them ; though he may have power to treat concerning certain Regulations to be observed on this subject ; and were it not for the difficulties arising out of our naturalizations, there might, I think, be a project devised that would be mutually satisfactory. England will not release her claims to the seamen we have already naturalized, and our Administration, who have invited foreigners of all tongues and languages to come among us, will not dare to give them up : so that my expectation is that no arrangement will be made on this subject.

As to the carrying trade England will, if I mistake not, adhere to the regulations with some unimportant qualifications, which were in force towards the close of the last war. Our Government will demand a greater latitude, and nothing will be settled on this head. But the affair of the Chesapeake being satisfactorily put at rest, there is no other point on which, now more than at any

other time within the past 15 years, we should go to war with England.

I do not include in this remark the late Orders of the Council blockading the ports and forbidding to merchants a trade, except in the mode pointed out in these Orders, in the produce and manufactures of France. These I have not maturely considered, nor do I yet fully understand the extent of their influence upon our trade and navigation; of one thing however I have no doubt, that these Orders would never have been made, had our Government done their duty in manifesting a proper spirit of resistance to the Decree of Berlin. Their subserviency to France and their reserve towards England have produced in the latter strong suspicions of collusion with the former; and the manner in which our late negotiation in London is considered to have been conducted, has served to confirm these suspicions and to recommend these Orders of Council.

Of our relations with France I, in common with others, am wholly in the dark. Had Russia been drawn into a war with England, Bonaparte would instantly have required of us to shut our ports against England. This he may already have demanded, and if he has not already, I have little doubt he will do it ere long. Our Negotiation for Florida has failed. Bonaparte has obtained it for himself and is preparing a body of troops to take possession of this Country. This he may effect, as he has lately done, as in the instance of Martinique; nay these very troops may be a part of those to be sent to the Floridas.

The draft of the letter closes here.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Jany. 17, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

Dining abroad yesterday, I met, unexpectedly, Mr. Rose. From a short conversation, I have formed a good opinion as well of his abilities as of his disposition. The latter accords with the spirit manifested in Mr. Canning's correspondence with Mr. Monroe—perfectly conciliating—even to solicitude. He is astonished at the ignorance in which the public is kept in respect

to that correspondence ; so far at least as it exhibits the promptness of England to disavow the attack on the Chesapeake & to make reparation. For months past, I have considered it as probable, if our disputes with England should remain unsettled, and irritations continued & increased, that the first knowledge the American people would obtain of the questions in contest, of the demands on one side and disposition to concede what was reasonable on the other, would be thro' the London newspapers. It is true that in his opening message, the President disclosed, that as soon as the British Answer to the demand of reparation should be received—"*or as soon after as public interests shall be found to admit,*" the unratified treaty & proceedings relative to it, should be made known to Congress. But this reserve will enable him to retain the secret indefinitely—until the die shall be cast and their publicity be useless. Besides I have no confidence that the most important parts would then be communicated : In furnishing *extracts* only anything might be omitted, which the President's views might require.

Did I ever tell you *that by direction of the Senate*, the short paragraph in the President's message of the 18th ulto. which desired the return of Armstrong's & Champagny's Letters, was left out, in the copies printed by their order ? and for the express purpose of preventing the public knowing that such letters had been communicated ? Such is the fact. What then may not the President & his Secretary of State not omit or garble, to suit their views, to conceal their projects, until the consequent toils might be remediless ?

Would you not like to see the correspondence between Canning and Monroe on the affair of the Chesapeake ? I can obtain it—as I believe. Another fact, some one (I suppose the Secy. of State) or more, of our ministers has or have said—" We must " (or " I suppose we must ") " have war with England or France." Does this not nearly demonstrate, that the requisitions of Bonaparte by the Revenge, were peremptory ; that he would have no neutrals ; and that we should shut our ports against England, or have war with him ? Can we suppose (taking a view of the conduct of our government) that the decision is not yet formed ? that they are yet " balancing to decide on their party " ? I consider the former more probable than the latter supposition.

Yesterday, Samuel Smith said (in conversation) that there would be no difficulty in defending our commerce against French Cruizers: but if we armed our vessels for that purpose, we should have *war* with France. I have reason to think that he would prefer a war with England. Why?

Faithfully yours

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

CHAPTER IV.

Pickering to King—Register—A new Paper—Its Comments on Affairs—Effects of Embargo—Pickering to King—Chesapeake Affair—Order of Council—King to Pickering—Embargo, if continued, prevents Merchants benefiting from high Markets of the Continent—Effect of Orders of Council—Retaliation—Gardenier to King—Influence of Embargo—Only Hope rests on the Fears of the Administration—Mr. Adams's Apostasy—Pickering to King—Must rescind the Proclamation before Settlement of Chesapeake Affair—King to Pickering—England's Fall the Grave of our Liberties—Urges Call for Armstrong's Letters—King to Gore—Rose's Position about the Chesapeake—President's Proclamation must be withdrawn—Pickering to King—Friends advise waiting before asking for Armstrong's Letters—Pinkney's Position—Jefferson's Policy wavering—King's, The Key: A Peep behind the Curtain—King to Pickering—Proposed Law of Treason unconstitutional—Pickering to King—Rose's Negotiation broken off—Pinkney nominated as Minister—Pickering to King—Law of Treason unconstitutional; postponed—Pinkney's Nomination opposed—Ministers signed the Treaty without Authority—Pickering to King—Dispatches from Pinkney's and Armstrong's Letters—Not a Line of Letter to his own Government—President asks to raise Troops.

T. Pickering to R. King.

City of Washington, Jany. 19, 1808.

Dear Sir:

The inclosed new periodical paper, judging from the spirit of this first number, is probably set up under the patronage of Mr. J. to support the measures of his administration. Of this number I understand the democrats sent off parcels that they may pervade the nation, and justify Mr. Jefferson on the two points which now nearly engross public attention—the embargo and the charges against Genl. Wilkinson.

In the embargo piece you will see a great deal of trash; while you trace up the leading sentiments to Mr. J., even some expres-

sions seem to be his own. It is a new discovery *that the embargo will benefit the English.* The discovery for the first time has been manifested in this piece. The federalists have for some time mentioned it as a proof of the folly of the measure. Some democratic member of Congress, to whom within a day or two it was mentioned, stared with surprize. In this piece you will see avowed the expectation that the British Govt. would retaliate Bonaparte's decree ; and that the embargo was calculated by our "sagacious Executive to meet that event." I believe I have in some former letter to you (if not, to several of my friends I have) suggested this same idea. I was led into it by Mr. Jefferson's saying (3 or 4 weeks ago) that *he wondered we did not get the British proclamation* of retaliation ; he manifested a solicitude ; as if he wanted it to justify the embargo, and evince his profound sagacity.

You know the hostility of Jefferson and Virginians and other Southern men, to our carrying trade. In this Register you see no class of citizens conspicuously noticed except "God's chosen people." If Mr. J. can prevent the clamours of the farmers and soothe the manufacturers by giving them monopolies, will he be persuaded to continue the embargo to the destruction of the navigation of the Northern States? and will the latter sit still with folded arms and submit to ruin? A union of sentiment in the six eastern states would controul the folly and insidious Views of the east and prescribe a salutary policy for the Union.

Faithfully yours
T. PICKERING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

January 19, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR :

Yours of the 15th has been duly received. While Dearborn & Gallatin were here in the course of the summer, they were asked separately, and at different times, whether the President in his Instructions sent to England had coupled the affair of the Chesapeake with other matters in discussion with that Nation ; they both answered in the negative, and assured those who interrogated them that the affair of the Chesapeake would be kept apart from every other question.

The result has shewn these assurances to be false and, at the time, these Ministers could not have been ignorant that they were so ; for in so very important a measure it is natural to suppose that the President consulted the cabinet.

Whether Mr. Pendleton's informant is pursuing the same course as his Colleagues, I cannot determine, but I do not place much confidence in communications coming from any of them. This, however, is certain, that whatever may be the views of the Adminn, Mr. Rose has it in his power to separate the Case of the Chesapeake from all other matters, and without doubt will do so.

I send you the long expected Proclamation, or rather Order of Council, which measures back upon France and her Vassals the Decree of Berlin.

Had the President done his duty in taking proper measures to procure an explicit exemption from the operation of this Decree, and in failure thereof, authorized our Merchants to arm their ships, and followed the other steps of the Congress of 1798, this order of council would never have appeared.

R. KING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

NEW YORK, January 24, 1808.

DEAR SIR :

Your letter of the 19th reached me in due course. Mr. Pendleton returned, but your letter had previously communicated the most material information he had obtained. Mr. Pendleton supposes that the *administration* will relinquish their Claim to all naturalized seamen provided G. Br. will discontinue the Practice of impressing on the Ocean. If they acquiesce in this particular, I am not sure they will stop there, and perhaps we should be vigilant that they do not consent to Measures, which will finally destroy the navigation of the Northern States.

In spite of all that can be said, the Embargo which touches the farmer as well as the Merchant, cannot be popular ; and if continued will shake many men's confidence in the present administration. So evident is this consequence, that I cannot think the ruling party will ever risk the Spring elections, with the Embargo in operation : so manifestly impolitic a measure will be understood by the Envoy, if he be a man of ordinary shrewdness, and

may operate to impair the just claims of the Country. The Merchants are mortified that the Embargo arrested the shipments they were making, and would have made, between the date of the Embargo, and the notice of the English Orders: and which, as they believe, would have participated in the high markets of the Continent.

Coffee and particularly Cotton, immediately after the publication of the Eng. orders in Holland, doubled in value: Cotton indeed, according to the latest advices from Nantes, was four prices above what it is understood now to be offered for it here, or nearly threefold its former price. In respect to the late Eng. Orders of Council, after endeavoring to comprehend their application to the detail of our Commerce, which is not readily done, I cannot but disapprove those parts of them which too plainly evince a purpose on the part of England to give by these Regulations an advantage to their Merchants at the expense of ours.

If by the acquiescence, or non-resistance, of Neutral States (or indeed of the U. S. who are the only neutral comml. States) in the Decree of Berlin, England has been justified by the Law of Retaliation to measure back upon her Enemy the mischief aimed to be done to her, it should have been done in the true spirit of Retaliation, and no other; and above all no interested or sinister motive should have been admitted to influence her Regulations. Every exception should have been so formed as to occasion the least possible delay, expense & risk to the neutral, whose vessels, if required to touch in an Eng. Port, should have received Passports gratis, and permitted to proceed to their Ports of destination; instead whereof all neutral ships, excepting such as sailed before notice of the Eng. orders, are obliged to enter inward and then outward, and to conform to existing Custom House Rules, and such new ones as may be prescribed, a course which, independent of the unknown Regulations respecting War, Brandy, Coffee, Sugar, Snuff and Tobacco, will be attended with great delay & expense if I be not much mistaken, and expense of more than 5 p. ct. upon the value of these various Cargoes. If, however, France should cause the Decree of Berlin to be enforced agt. all vessels coming from England, the exception from the Blockade by England of all vessels trading between her ports & those of the enemy will become a nullity, as no such trade will be allowed.

What means the proposed republican revision of the Naturalization Law? Is it intended to widen or narrow the door, thro' which the crimes and criminals of Europe with the friends of oppressed humanity are to find an asylum in this *free and happy land?*

Always yours

RUFUS KING.

B. GARDENIER TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, January 26, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

I acknowledge with much pleasure the receipt of your letter of the 21st. To obtain the approbation of those whose good opinion we most value, is in all situations pleasing. The assurance I have received of meriting yours, permit me to say sincerely, is an ample recompense for the ill-nature & obloquy, which an open hostility to the ruling Party must inevitably excite.

Our prospects are more gloomy than ever. I can no longer permit myself to hope for a specific result from Mr. Rose's Mission. All that will be done by our Administration will be to conduct with the appearance of so much moderation as to secure their popularity, when that war, which they are resolved upon, actually breaks out. The determination of Buonaparte to put in force the Decree of Nov. 21, 1806, can mean only one thing & that is, that we shall be no longer Neutral, we must close our Ports against England. It seems to have been hitherto the price of peace paid by all the Nations he has overcome, and has in no instance been omitted. What is there in the American Government which could deter him from demanding from us to give a finishing stroke to that policy, by which he hopes to overcome the only power that seems able to stand between him and the liberties of the world? Why was the Embargo recommended upon the receipt of Despatches from France, and those Despatches too kept back? Why as a measure, for so it was avowed in conclave, intended to bear upon England, when nothing new in relation to that country had transpired since Mr. Monroe's Despatch? Why as a measure against England when an Envoy was expected from that Country? Why meet him, who came as a Messenger of Peace with an Act of Hostility? I will not fatigue you with

my reflections on this subject. If the Administration think they can stand their ground, we shall have war. Our only hope rests upon their fears.

Nothing transpires respecting Rose's negotiation. Mr. Erskine, who, I think, feels as friendly to this Country as can be expected of a foreign Minister, seems to apprehend the worst result.

Our Legislature will soon be in Session in the State of New York. As I am myself persuaded that the Embargo, so far from being intended as a measure of prudential precaution, was only intended to feel the Public pulse; persuaded as I am that the Nation will be dragged into an unnecessary & destructive War, if the Embargo is generally approved of, I have thought it my duty to lay before the Legislature of our State a faithful detail of the whole proceedings together with my reflections upon them. It is a step, however, which I would not like to take without the assent of wiser heads than my own. I shall beg your opinion * therefore as to its propriety; and I must assure you at the same time, I shall not feel my pride at all wounded at being told it is improper, if you should think it so. It has seemed to me, however, that this was the most imposing form in which the subject could be presented to the People: that whether its reading should be ordered or denied, it would equally excite public attention, & I think it no small matter in this Government of ours to be able to catch the public ear. If I could so frame it (and I think I could) that Russell and Harris as well as Van Rensselaer would put their names to it, it would be all the better.

Accounts from Virginia "look squally." Monroe's party is supposed to have a majority there. A caucus of all the members of the Legislature is to be held on Thursday next. I shall write you the result as soon as I hear it. By a statement which I sent Mr. Coleman, you will see how much they are divided here.

John Quincy Adams! His apostasy is no longer a matter of doubt, with any body. Would you suppose it possible the scoundrel could summon impudence enough to go to their caucus?† I thought we had been sifted so much that what re-

* If given it cannot be found.

† On pages 497, and 510, vol i. Mem. of J. Q. Adams will be found the statement of reasons why he decided at that time, the close of 1807, to support the Administration; and on pp. 505–07 those for joining in the caucus of the

mained was never to be changed. I wish to God the noble house of Braintree had been put in "*A hole*," and a deep one too twenty years ago.

I am, with sincere Respt. yr. obedt. servt.

B. GARDENIER.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

Confidential.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Jany 28, 1808.

DEAR SIR :

You know that the direct object of Mr. Rose's Mission was to make reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake : but he will not treat on it, *until the President's proclamation is rescinded*, which laid the interdict on *all* British Ships of War. This is the fact. The pride of our Government *and their willingness to avoid any adjustment of our disputes with Great Britain, unless on terms which they would themselves prescribe*, will therefore frustrate his embassy.

If the people of the Northern States will continue to repose with implicit confidence on One Man, their ruin is sure. The President says "Great Britain must fall." He is of course indifferent about the adjustment of differences. There is no cause of war ; yet that will be the result, unless the Northern States arrest him in his career. If Mr. Rose's instructions were discretionary as to the Chesapeake business, I am persuaded that his mission would be equally nugatory ; it would cost our Executive the trouble of inventing some other excuse for not concluding a treaty.

Faithfully yours

T. PICKERING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

Feby. 5, 1808.

DEAR SIR :

I am obliged to you for your letter of the 28th inst. Every additional article of news from Europe confirms the value and importance of a good understanding between the U. S. and England ; the Coalition, the League *of Kings* against whom, embraces all the Powers of the Continent.

Republican Members of Congress to nominate candidates for the offices of President & Vice President. Messrs. Madison and Clinton being the nominees.

If England sink, her fall will prove the Grave of our Liberties ; believing this, as I most firmly do believe it, ought not the country to be alarmed at the conduct of the Executive, whose errors, or the indulgence of whose prejudices, may, & I fear will, prove the ruin of his Country.

The man, who, being without prejudice, possesses but a common understanding, must perceive that the Coalition agt. England will not suffer the U. S. to remain neuter ; or in other words, they will not suffer us to have any intercourse with them, provided we maintain an intercourse with England : And yet we are told, and the Govt. & State Legislatures repeat the declaration, that France has no influence upon our public Councils. Let the despatches from Armstrong be produced and then we shall see our real condition. Why do you not call upon the Executive to lay before the Senate information concerning our relations with France? Let them refuse your demand, the time is near at hand, when a disclosure must take place. It really appears to me to be the duty of those who have not delivered themselves up to the spirit of faction & the implicit Orders of our Rulers, to make an exertion to obtain a disclosure of our actual situation.

faithfully & always yours
RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

NEW YORK, Feb., 1808.

DEAR SIR :

James & his Brothers will embark for Providence in the course of the Day & promise themselves great pleasure in their visit. I have desired them to go to see Mr. Ames & Mr. Cabot as my Friends.

They will take the papers with them, tho' they contain nothing except the report of a Captain from Ramsgate (who was in London Dec. 5 & sailed from Ramsgate Dec. 18), "that Russia had declared war agt. England." He brought no News papers : those who have conversed with the Captain seem to give Credit to his News, which is the more probable in my mind, as I am persuaded that Russia (if she already has not,) will take the side of France.

This event ascertained, we shall be obliged to decide for or agt. the Confederacy. Within a few weeks Mr. Jefferson has several times declared that England must sink in the struggle, and believing so, he will be disinclined to go down with her.

Mr. Rose's Mission had special reference to the affair of the Chesapeake and perhaps this is his sole business. You will recollect that we have seen several articles, saying that England disavowed the attack ; but as the President by his Proclamation had taken into his own hands a portion of the reparation, that which remained for England to make must be necessarily less than it otherwise would have been. On this principle it is understood that Mr. Rose declares himself authorized to make the fullest reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake ; but that he is restrained by his orders from taking any one step, until the President's Proclamation interdicting the entry of Br. men of war be rescinded. If the President be persuaded that Engd. is about to perish, he will be restrained from doing what his pride would be mortified with ; and so the Mission of Peace may fail. The Engh. Proclamation or instruction, which with publicity disavows Berkley's attack, might well be set agt. the ill advised Proclamation, which might be withdrawn and the business amicably settled.

R. K.

P. S. Don't mention my Name on this subject.

T. Pickering to R. King.

City of Washington, Feby. 9, 1808.

Dear Sir :

This morning I received your letter of the 5th. The number of federalists in the Senate is so small (only 5), and some of these of *tender nerves*, it is more than ever difficult to take a strong step. Upon Mr. Bayard's first arrival, I mentioned the expediency of demanding Armstrong's communications. Hillhouse, Goodrich & I had previously conversed on the measure. Mr. B. "thought it not the proper time. Every thing depended on the timing any measure, to warrant success." We were induced to acquiesce, until the Embargo should be felt. I have just shown Mr. Bayard your letter. His answer was similar to that before given. I remarked that if the President persisted in his attach-

ment to France and was willing to hazard a breach with England, *the die might be cast*, and a call for papers be useless. "That is true," said he, "but I think we should wait longer, to ascertain effects of the Embargo." He added, that from some of the President's friends, he understood the President to be coming off from his French attachments, and to be apprehensive of the danger to the U. S., should Britain fall. *Confidential.* Mr. Pinkney was appointed joint-commissioner with Monroe, *to settle all differences with the United Kingdom of G. B. and Ireland, and to agree on the prinicples of their navigation and Commerce.* Consequently with the termination of that negociation, Pinkney's powers ceased. Nevertheless the British Govt. agreed to receive Mr. Pinkney as the resident Minister of the U. S., but in full reliance that, as early as might be, he should be furnished with new letters of credence as such. *Now no nomination has been made to the Senate during the session.* It is possible that before we assembled, the President might send him a commission, which will serve till the session closes. But the fact may be doubted. You will recollect the News-paper paragraphs, that the President to send a new Minister to England, would incur Bonaparte's displeasure. For some time past, in ruminating on the President's conduct, to discover some clue to guide me to its principle, this idea occurred, (tho' I never broached it till this morning to my friend Hillhouse) that it was possible his object & hope was, by a course of *indecisive proceedings*, to keep Bonaparte in suspense. Dreading his power, perhaps to delay or prevent the execution of a threat, he may not only have avoided entering into any treaty with England; but purposely seized every occasion to exhibit proofs of antipathy, & a hostile spirit towards her, and encouraged by his example, the abusive language of that country in our newspapers & on the floor of Congress, to induce the belief, in the mind of Bonaparte that he was preparing the people for open hostility with England. These demonstrations on the American theatre, joined with warm assurances (to be given at Paris) of attachment to France, he may have practised, to amuse and appease the Emperor, and thus at least postpone the evil day of entering into an open war with him. Considering the character of Mr. Jefferson, would he not be likely to fall into such a line of timid *wavering policy?* If he has, it cannot much longer be

continued. Of all men living Bonaparte would be soonest likely to lose his patience in utter contempt for the man and his politics, to strike a sudden blow. And as the Merchant vessels of the U. S. are by the British Orders now excluded from his ports, what motive has he to remain at peace? By declaring war, he lays his hand on all the American property within his dominions from the Mediterranean to the Baltic without needing other cover for his injustice. "*My constant desire and prayer to God is*" *that his patience may have been exhausted and war declared against the U. S.* A War would be the surest way (under Providence) to maintain an independence. It would give even more energy to the arm of England. It would rouse the sleeping spirit of our own country; and prepare us for defence and *enterprize*. Then would be the time, in conjunction with England, to detach Spanish America from the Mother Country, and thus open an immense field of commerce to us both. If the Spanish dynasty is to be changed, the emancipation would be easily effected. What do you think of these conjectures?

Faithfully yours

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

Feby 16, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

I yesterday received yours of the 9th. I have been so engaged since the receipt of your letter, that I have not had leisure to do more than read over the Bill you sent me. My general impression is not favourable to the proposed law.

The limitation which the Constitution establishes on the subject of Treason, proceeded from a principle, which will readily be approved by every man who is acquainted with the vindictive spirit that, at different times in the History of England, has animated the ascendant faction against their political adversaries. If the proposed law on the subject of Treason neither enlarges nor lessens its constitutional definition, the law is unnecessary; if it does the one or the other, it is unconstitutional. In the unfortunate periods, during which a country is torn by contending factions, the Treason Laws should not be altered. Neither ought they to be changed just at the time when the Govt. is angry or

disappointed in the failure to convict such as are believed to have committed Treason. It is better in such case to follow the example of Socrates, who said to the slave who had misbehaved

"Cœderem te, nisi irascerer."

My opinion has been that Jefferson would, if he could avoid it, go to war with neither France nor England: but if France imposed upon him the alternative of fighting her or England, that he would make a choice of the latter for his enemy.

faithfully yr. obv. Sert.

RUFUS KING.

P. S. If the Embargo be raised, the People will care nothing about Armstrong's Despatches: while in operation, they will take an interest in enquiry; it is now therefore, and not when the Embargo ceases, that the demand for information should be made.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Feby. 19, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

Yesterday we were confidently told that the Negociation with Mr. Rose was broken off. To-day the President nominated William Pinkney to be minister of the United States to the Court of London! as the messengers for London & Paris are to leave Washington to-day, it may be well to get Pinkney's nomination inserted in some of your newspapers, to go in the same vessel with them.

We just have a report that Bonaparte has declared war against the U. States. God grant it may prove true. We also hear that George III. is dead; this is to be regretted; tho' less now, perhaps, than if Fox were living.

Faithfully yours

T. PICKERING.

N. B. The nomination of Pinkney not having yet been approved by the Senate, you will not mention the source of your information. Pinkney was appointed joint-commissioner with Monroe to *treat:* his powers ceased with that negociation. But the British Govt. agreed to receive him as the resident minister, until he could receive new letters of credence.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Washington, Feb. 24, 1808.

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 16th. There is much opposition to Giles' treason bill. The motion at present before the Senate is, to *postpone it to December next.* But as it is a *Presidential* measure, it may pass, tho' the appearances at this time are against it. All the distinguished Philadelphia Lawyers, who have been here, reprobated it in strong terms. I sent a copy of the bill to Judge Peters, who writes me that he received it when on the Bench, & threw it down to Lewis, who was at the bar. Lewis read it & returned it with this note.

"§ 1. The Constitution having defined treason, Congress have no power to vary the same, or to enact anything respecting its definition.

"§ 2. the same.

"§ 7. This by altering the *Name* of the offence, cannot alter the nature & is therefore void."

The President talks freely of having Congress pass an act to enable him to remove the Embargo, when the French & British Governments annul their blockading decrees; in which he affects to consider G. Britain as the first aggressor! But I do not believe with all their obsequiousness, that Congress will give him this power. The fact is, many avow their fear to go home in the present State of things, *without being able to tell their constituents why they are so.*

In my last I mentioned the nomination of Wm. Pinkney (Monroe's associate) to be Minister Plenipo. at London. This was on Friday the 19th. The Senate adjourned over to Monday, when I expected the nomination would have been approved. But it was not called up: I suspected intentionally. On Tuesday that with other nominations was taken up. A number preceded it in *order* in the President's list. As the names were read, several were desired by different members, to be laid over. At length Pinkney's name was read. Mr. Giles desired it might lay over. Bradley said the same, & that he had a resolution to offer in the case; and now (this moment that I am writing) Bradley has offered the resolution: to ask the President to lay before the Senate the unratified treaty & papers connected with it, which may enable

the Senate to judge correctly on the nomination of Wm. Pinkney as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of London. Bradley prefaced the resolution with a short history of the London Mission as it united Pinkney with Monroe. The President had informed Congress, at the commencement of the session, that those ministers had themselves stated that they signed a treaty *against their instructions*. Bradley wished to know whether circumstances justified them in doing so. Thus you see (as I had suspected since Monday) that this negociation is to be conjured up to prejudice Monroe's pretensions to the Presidency, *and probably as the means of withdrawing our minister from London.* Whether another will be sent must be a subject of conjecture. Jefferson has *nominated* to give the *appearance* of a pacific disposition towards G. B., and to avoid Pinkney's resentment against himself. For I remember, when Pinkney was nominated joint-commissioner with Monroe, being told that he consented to go on condition of remaining in London as the permanent Minister. The Senate is to take on itself the responsibility of a negative ; and at the same time furnish Jefferson with a pretence for suspending a Mission to London—to please Bonaparte : At least to gain time & take the advantage of contingencies. Or, if he really means to send a Minister immediately to London, he may be willing to sacrifice Pinkney in order to ruin Monroe. He may not advert to the reproach which must attach to himself for ordering the *same faulty Ministers* to renew a negociation, after they had violated their instructions. But it will appear that they complied *subtantially* with their instructions respecting impressment of seamen (the only point in question, as I believe) and the President in saying, in his first Message that *at the time of signing the treaty*, the Commissioners told those of Great Britain, *that they were acting against their instructions*, DID NOT TRULY STATE THE CASE. At a certain period of the Negociation, in 1805, our Comrs. did tell those of G. B. that they could sign no treaty, in which provision was not made respecting seamen in our merchant vessels ; and this interrupted the negociation. But afterwards the British Comrs. suggested the idea of an *informal arrangement* respecting seamen, which in practice would prevent the vexation complained of. This was *two months* before the treaty was signed. This *informal arrangement* was sent over to our government (no doubt by the first ves-

sel after our Comrs. recd. it from Lords Holland & Auckland) and must have been in the President's possession long before he recd. Monroe's & Pinkney's letter of Dec. 27, 1806, which he laid before Congress, announcing their agreement on articles of a treaty, which they believed would be satisfactory to our government, as it *embraced all the objects committed to them in the negociation.* Undoubtedly it was the informal (but practical) arrangement, which satisfied our Ministers, and induced them to sign the treaty. And it would have satisfied the President & the country (I believe) *had the President been inclined to conclude any treaty of amity & commerce with G. Britain.*

I have no further information respecting the Chesapeake negociation. I believe Mr. Canning *did not waive* the question of the interdicting Proclamation, in London: but that the coupling the impressment of Seamen with the attack on the Chesapeake stopped the negociation at the threshhold. Canning did ask (in one of his notes to Monroe) *with earnestness*, whether he had information that the Proclamation, as it appeared in the news-papers, *was the President's act;* and I think he did not immediately answer that question. I mention this matter in reference to a discussion on Coleman's paper,* on the affair of the Chesapeake, which tho' in the form of an editorial speculation, *I have taken the liberty to ascribe to you,* very respectfully & faithfully yours

T. Pickering.

*It is probable that the Article referred to is the following in the *Evening Post*, Feby. 5, 1808.

The Key—*Or a peep behind the curtain.* The nation cried aloud for satisfaction for the attack on the Chesapeake! What did Mr. Jefferson do? Did he give effect to the national wish? He did not. He instructed Mr. Monroe not to demand specific satisfaction for that specific outrage, but to connect it with subjects already under discussion. In plainer words, not to receive satisfaction for *that*, unless arrangements, on all *other* topics, should be made too. Not to receive separate reparation, for this detached and separate injury. The British ministry *offered* that reparation. Mr. Monroe was instructed to *refuse* it, and *therefore* it was not, and is not yet received. But *Great Britain* sends a minister here, as if eager to *press* reparation upon us. While he is on his passage, our administration receive dispatches—from England? No—they had long before received all that is yet known from that country. The administration receives dispatches from France. What do they contain? It requires a ghost to rise from the dead to tell us that. It is beyond the ken of every member; except that Bonaparte's Decree of piracy is put in force. What follows? A

J. Pickering to R. King.

Washington, Feby. 26, 1808.

Dear Sir:

With great pleasure I announced to you in my letter of the 19th the nomination of Mr. Pinkney to be Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of London—because it was an indication of the Con-

General Embargo. Upon whom is it to operate? On France? O, no—*On England*: So say all the administration prints, and so we are told avowed the administration Members on the floor of Congress while in conclave. For what? Because England had refused reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake? No. Because they had committed some new outrage? Not at all. Why then in the name of wonder! Because France had violated the laws of nations, and the obligation of treaties. *Therefore* was Great Britain to be injured, and we ourselves ruined! There are no symptoms of French influence in this—or if there are, we must have confidences? Aye—that powerful opiate will do the business completely. Reason may struggle, but it will struggle in vain against it. Confidence—And Utter Ignorance. The Pope himself could not arrogate more infallibility. But the Key. Let us suppose, from the little we are permitted to know, and what nobody can hinder us, as we Yankees say, from *guessing*, let us suppose that all this secresy, fuss, and mystery, was intended to lead the nation blindfold into a British war; but that the *man of the people* felt a little skittish of the disposition of the nation to go to war, without any necessity;—a little squeamish of hazarding his popularity, past redemption, even when requested by his fellow *republican*, the Emperor and King. Suppose he wished to do something which should bring upon the nation all the evils of war, the substance without the name, but which, if the people should grumble, might be more easily receded from than a state of war could; what would be his course? An Embargo is the very thing. If the people submit, it will be no difficult matter, in due time, to quarrel with Mr. Rose, and with the national animosity against Britain, it will be as easy to persuade us that the British are in fault. Then for the Gun-Boats on the water and Wilkinson on the land—dash away Americans—ruin yourselves, and thus fight the battles of the Grand Pacificator. And, in a little time, you may be in a condition to import a King into the only Republic Bonaparte has permitted to exist on earth. The fact is, if the nation tamely bear this embargo, *we shall have a war with Britain.* It was intended only to feel the national pulse. If they rise up against this political juggling—this presidential hocus pocus, all may be set right again.* We are on the brink of a dreadful precipice. The intelligence, the independence, and the firmness of the people must save them Now, or they may awake to see their error when they find themselves in the iron grasp of the Universal Despot.

* *For there is no doubt Mr. Rose is instructed to make ample reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake.*

tinuance of Peace—after it had been reported that the negociation with Mr Rose had been broken off. In a subsequent letter (about the 24th) I stated the obstacle to an approval of the nomination and my conjectures of the motives. This morning the President sent a message to the two Houses with *one* copy for both Houses, of dispatches from Pinkney & Armstrong *—to be read as much as was needful & to be talked on freely—*but not to be published, and to be returned to the President!* Pinkney's first letter was very long; several sheets of large paper, in folio, finely written. It was dated Nov. 23, giving a minute detail of a long conversation with Mr. Canning on the subject of the British Orders of Nov. 11. He says that Mr. Canning sought the interview —not to discuss the *principle* of those orders (it was too late for that) but to explain, if necessary, & obviate objections. Pinkney was prepared—as he had contemplated sending to Mr. Canning a note stating objections; which, however, after so full a discussion at the interview, he should dispense with. He represented the orders as contrary to our neutrality, unjust and impolitic. In maintaining these positions, he necessarily brought into view the Berlin decree of Nov. 21st 1806: and seemed to have convinced himself (as he certainly has many members of Congress) that the imperial decree did not warrant the British retaliatory orders, nor violate the law of nations—nor Buonaparte's treaty with the U. States! He quoted Armstrong's letter of Dec., 1806, to the Minister of Marine Decrees, and the answer of the letter of the 24th of that month, as proofs. The imperial decree (at least as practised on) contained only municipal regulations. He particularly reprobated the article in the British orders making *Certificates of Origin* found on board our vessels as grounds of condemnation. He represented Mr. Canning as having misconceived their nature, in supposing the want of them in neutral vessels to be the cause of capture and condemnation by the French; for he said they could operate only on vessels arriving in French ports in order to prove their cargoes not of British product or manufactures.

I do not wonder that the President directed this letter not to be published; tho' its inflammatory language would have exactly suited the President's views to increase the public irritation. But such affrontive epithets were used as must, if published, have

*Annals of Congress, 1807-81st. Sess., p. 150.

obliged the British Government to have ordered Mr. Pinkney away, or at least to have required his recall. Indeed he was there a minister merely by courtesy ; as I believe I have stated in a former letter. The conversation, no doubt, was suitably decorous. Doubtless it was because this letter was calculated admirably to meet the popular prejudices & inflame them that the President *gave us permission* to talk about it.

I presume you will see published the President's Message on this occasion ; and I believe (but I will ascertain this to-morrow) it purports to have communicated Armstrong's letters us well as Pinkney's ; but the fact is, that we again did not receive one line of Armstrong's letters *to his own government* ; but only his letter to Champagny (I think dated Nov. 12) controverting the arguments of the Tribunal of Prizes for condemning the Ship Horizon's cargo so far as it consisted of goods from England or her Colonies. The decree in this case of the prize court was very long & has been published months ago in all our news-papers. The ship had been wrecked near Morlaix. This document from Paris was a tub to the whale. I am pretty sure that Pinkney said he had known of no instance in which the Berlin decree had been executed against our vessels. Yet, if I mistake not, the case in which the letter of Regnier was written, occurred in September.

The other letters from Pinkney to Madison bore dates of Dec. 14 & 29th, and Jany. 2., the latter inclosing (but without one remark) the Milan decree of Dec. 17. The other two letters were short—I do not remember their contents.

If there was any serious design to negative Mr. Pinkney's nomination, the arrival of his letters was fortunate for him. For as soon as they had been read, Bradley's and Giles' doubts were completely dissipated. The former with Giles' consent withdrew his resolution (which lay on the Vice-President's table) to call for the returned treaty and the documents pertaining to it. His able, but inflammatory letter atoned for all former delinquency : his nomination was called up—the yeas and nays voted—and the nomination *unanimously* approved. For my own part, I was willing, at almost any rate, to secure a minister in London. And of his ability no one doubted.

In his long letter, it appeared that Mr. Pinkney had a regular communication with the American Merchants, who had meetings

with Mr. Percival, relative to British Orders; but that neither their interference, nor a subsequent one from the merchants of the remoter towns, had any effect to abate the rigour of the orders.

With these communications the President made another * for the purpose of raising 6000 regular troops, and 24,000 volunteers to be enlisted for 5 years, with condition to serve twelve months in 24 &c., pursuant to plans of the Sec'y of War at the same time presented. These I suppose will be published. But we were not told for what purpose these troops were to be raised. A committee was appointed to consider & report; and as the members are all zealous patriots, no doubt we shall have a bill on Monday. Giles, Adams, Saml. Smith, Bradley & Sumter. I should except Genl. Sumter from the *zealous*. He is a *real* patriot—a steady judicious man—and temperate; certainly the most estimable of the whole party in the Senate. He opposed the embargo and evidently is much dissatisfied with the management of our affairs. This bill may possibly pass the Senate; but stick in the House. They have hitherto resisted the bill for the small addition long since agreed on by the Senate to our peace establishment, which we deemed expedient for our extended frontier and particularly for the security of New Orleans. The whole of this last presidential project may be like what Saml. Smith spoke of before Mr. Rose's arrival. He said he expected in a few days that a resolution would be laid on our tables to raise 30,000 men: "Who knows, said he, but that when the Envoy arrives and *sees* the *clangour* of our preparations for war, he may hold a very different language from what he would if he saw us reposing in the hopes of peace."

I wish you were nearer—within the reach of *conversation*. I give you the best information in my power; and should be extremely happy to learn your opinions on all important occurrences.

Yours truly, T. PICKERING.

I have reason to believe that last week the negociation was broken off—and renewed at the instance of our Government, who with all their irritations to provoke, appear as yet to dread a war with England. *We must have a union of Northern Interests*, to controul the predilection & counteract the fears of Jefferson, & overthrow Virginian domination.

* *Annals of Congress* 1867–8, 1st Sess., p. 151.

CHAPTER V.

King to Pickering—Peace cannot be maintained with France and England—Pickering to King—Madison's Answer to Rose—Demands from France—Pickering to Rose—King's Opinion—Rose to Pickering—Thanks him for King's Letter—Troup to King—Evil Effects of Embargo—Pickering to King—President thinks no Occasion for War with England—King to Gardenier—Life no longer in Danger—Duel—Gore to King—Postponement of Meeting in Boston to remonstrate against Embargo—Question asked whether Eastern States might not combine to prevent a War with G. Britain—Pickering to King—Champagny's Letter—King to Pickering—Regrets that Chesapeake Affair is unsettled—Approves his Letter to Sullivan—Gore to King—Political State in Massts.—King to Pickering—Pinkney's Construction of the Decree of Berlin, indefensible—Smith to King—Medal to Com. Preble—Discussion about the Inscription—King, Paper on Words.

R. King to T. Pickering.

New York, March 4, 1808.

Dear Sir :

I have recd. several letters from you that remain unacknowledged—the last is dated Feb. 26. The character of our Minister in London is too well known to me to be surprized or disappointed with the Report of the tenor of his late communications. The mob of Congress may be deceived, because their leaders have an interest in deceiving them ; but it will be hard to persuade the Country that the Decree of Berlin and the subsequent measures of France are no violation of our Rights. I greatly misjudge, or the last three months have produced considerable change, and that against French influence, among the people.

With regard to the Proceedings and Views of our Govt., I can understand and interpret them but in one sense, and that sense is, that Peace can no longer be maintained with both France and

England, and in the choice of an enemy England will be preferred.

The negotiation hangs, or has hung as I am informed, upon the amount of the Reparation that shall be made for the disavowed attack upon the Chesapeake. Deductions from this amount are claimed, on account of the Proclamation, of the character of the seamen who deserted from the Eng. service & entered into that of the U. S., and of the demand and refusal of their surrender. Upon what suggestion the Discussion has been resumed, I have not heard, but it would not surprize me, if the object be to gain time for further information and further intrigue.

The general stop of Navigation & Commerce is beginning to affect a class of Men who have by their credit hitherto been enabled to perform their engagements, but who seeing no prospect of the removal of the Embargo, and finding no market for the great amount of property on hand, are becoming discouraged and will shortly sink under the embarrassment of their affairs.

Very faithfully yr. ob. Servt.,

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1808.

DEAR SIR :

When I saw in Coleman's paper the direct, positive statement of Mr. Rose's question to Mr. Madison, and the answer of the latter relative to the President's interdicting proclamation, I supposed it must have been communicated by Mr. Duer, Mr. Rose's cousin, who I knew was here and to whom I delivered (for *you*) the President's volume of evidence &c., in the trial of Burr, yet I doubted whether he received the information from Mr. Rose ; I had a special reason for thinking so ; and in this day's National Intelligencer it is declared, "from respectable authority" to be unfounded. This authority is that of Mr. Rose himself ; for his secretary (Mr. Mansfield) told me yesterday that he called on the editor for that purpose. Where then originated the report ? I cannot tell—

The answer imputed to Madison is substantially what I should have expected, if such a question had been proposed. For I

have long entertained apprehensions (and perhaps I have already more than once expressed them to you) that Mr. Jefferson had determined to evade a settlement of the Chesapeake affair ; and with the proclamation & embargo, effectually shut our ports against all British vessels & British commerce ; as effectually as the ports of France & her dependent States are shut, by Bonaparte's order, or in open obedience to his will. The negociation remained, four days ago, precisely in the State in which it was five or six weeks since. Yet surely it is not the intention of Mr. J. to commence a war with G. B. Mr. Pinkney's appointment seems to be an assurance of this. Were it not for Mr. Jefferson's hatred of England and predilection for France, I could imagine all the demonstrations of hostility towards the former to be the result of *policy*, to appease the wrath of Bonaparte (whom I am assured he has professed to *dread*) and lead him to think that a more decided part, at present, would hazard resistance from the spirit of the people, not yet sufficiently debased tamely to acquiesce in his demands. No one (the President's dupes excepted) doubts the receipt of such demands, and I think the recital of Champagny's letter, from Milan, to Armstrong, in a letter from a gentleman in Paris to another in Leghorn (dated Dec. 3d) countenances that opinion. Champagny complains that our Gov't. had not taken some steps to prevent the English visiting our vessels, impressing our seamen, &c ; but said, if we came into the views of France—like the Continental powers—the redress asked for would be afforded. This letter is in Coleman's Evenning Post of Feb. 26th.

On the supposition that the Chesapeake affair will not be adjusted, and that our Gov't. will continue its irritations, we should, in ordinary cases, expect G. B. to strike suddenly and indignantly. But I have hoped she would still forbear. I have taken the freedom to express earnestly to Mr. Rose my opinion, that good policy required on her part much patience and even long suffering ; while we were seriously punishing ourselves by the embargo. I remarked that if a new war took place between us, old prejudices would be strengthened—enmities aggravated, and a future cordial amity & intercourse perhaps forever barred. He seemed to have entertained these considerations and to have been deeply impressed with their importance ; while he could

not undertake to say what would be the sentiment of his Government. He confirmed what Monroe said, that there were many classes of people in England eager for a war with the U. S., and that it was only the cool part of the ministry which prevented a war. He has received my suggestions with great good will, and manifests extreme anxiety for an amicable adjustment of our differences. I do not know that you would deem it proper to express your opinion on the subject (the policy of England towards the U. S.) in the present state of things. Yet you so well understand the best interests of both countries, I cannot but believe that your ideas (if you permit me to communicate them to Mr. Rose) could not only be highly acceptable, but have a salutary difference where alone (if any where) the opinion of the most discerning American can now have effect.

Mr. Rose may be here 10 days or two weeks longer ; I shall be greatly obliged by your early answer.*

In the National Intelligencer of the 2d inst (which I inclose) you will see two letters to the Editor of the morning Chronicle, signed Veritas. This "Briton" I presume is Mr. Pinkney. Veritas has taken the same ground of defence for the U. States that was taken by Pinkney in his *very long* and "hasty" (as he affectedly called an elaborate) statement of his consultation and argument with Mr. Canning ; and appears, likewise, to be acquainted with some *minutiæ* of our affairs with which only an American would be familiar. I think too that the *style* is not that of the *English* writers. . . .

very truly yours
T. Pickering.

* An answer was sent by Mr. King, as would appear by the following extracts from the Pickering manuscript, quoted in the "New England Federalism" by Mr. Adams, p. 366–7.

T. Pickering to G. H. Rose.

"Washington, March 13, 1808.

"In a late letter to Mr King, I recollect the enforcing my opinion by sentiments of this sort. That a new war between the U. S. and G. B. would revive the memory of former strifes, with all their topics of hatred and ill-will ; would increase existing prejudices and excite such bitter resentments, as hardly any

ROBT. TROUP TO R. KING.

ALBANY, March 7, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I am very sorry to see that the cloud over our foreign relations, instead of dispersing, grows thicker and thicker. We will not be long before the effects of the embargo will be most severely felt; and if they should produce no change in our next election, it will be a proof that the public mind is in a state of incurable infatuation. The prevalent opinion amongst the federalists here is, that it is our duty to attempt returning as many federalists as we can in our next legislature. The awful crisis of our country seems imperiously to demand the utmost exertions of patriotism to rescue us from the evils we suffer, and to ward off others of a still more calamitous nature!

In the Genesee country some farmers have been compelled to part with their wheat 1/6 per bushel to raise money to pay their taxes; all the streams that flowed into the treasury of the Pulteney land office in that country are nearly dried up. . . .

I remain, My dear Sir, very sincerely yours

ROB. TROUP.

length of time would remove. To that letter I received the enclosed answer, which I communicate with the greater satisfaction, because Mr. King is well known to your Government for his distinguished talents, correct views in political affairs, and great respectability of character. At this moment recurs to me the remark made to me by the late excellent Mr. Hamilton in 1796, when he expressed to me his desire that Mr. King might be sent to London. "He is the fittest man in the U. S. to represent us at that court."

MR. ROSE TO COL. PICKERING.

"MARCH 18, 1808.

"You will, I am sure, recollect the feelings I expressed to you the instant you touched in our late conversation on the subject of your letter. You will therefore readily conceive the satisfaction I derive from the sanction of your confirmed and still further reflected opinion, supported as it is by such a man as Mr. King. I have not confined myself to speculative feeling, but have acted in consequence of the conviction, which I deeply entertain. I avail myself thankfully of your permission to keep that gentleman's letter, which I am sure will carry high authority where I can use it confidently."

R. King to Mr. Gardenier.

New York, March 10, 1808.

Dear Sir:

Having heretofore expressed to you, as on every occasion I have done to our political friends, the satisfaction with which I have read your speeches in Congress, you will naturally imagine the unfeigned solicitude that I have lately experienced respecting your situation and safety.* So far as my observations have enabled me to determine, the sentiments of the worthy and respectable men in this quarter are such concerning you, as a virtuous and honorable man could desire they should be; your talents as a public man especially in these hard and portentous times have appeared to me of great value. I therefore not only cordially rejoice that your life is no longer in danger, but that by the manner in which you have behaved in a situation which was forced upon you, those talents will hereafter become still more useful to your Country,

With sincere esteem, yr. obt. & faithful Servt,

Rufus King.

C. Gore to R. King.

Boston, March 10, 1808.

My Dear Friend:

. . . Our public affairs, so far as known and felt here are in a most lamentable state, and I see no prospect that they will

* Mr. Gardenier's speech this day last week on this bill (3rd Embargo Bill) part of which I heard, has given occasion to some disagreeable occurrences. On Monday, three members of the House, Johnson of Kentucky, Campbell of Tennessee and Montgomery of Maryland, replied to what he said by such direct and personal invective, that a challenge of Mr. Campbell, if not also of Mr. Johnson, ensued. Mr. White and Mr. Epps, the two seconds, have been making formal arrangements and selecting the ground just beyond the line of the District, with much publicity. This morning they all went out with such general notice that a crowd of one or two hundred persons are said to have followed them to the selected spot, where they were finally separated by the magistrates of the District and of the neighboring County of Maryland.

J. Q. Adams, Mem. 1, p. 517. For Mr. Gardenier's Remarks, see *An. of Congress*, Feby. 1808, p. 1653, *et seq.* March 2nd. Mr. Geo. Campbell and Mr. Gardenier this morning fought their duel, in which the latter was badly, if not mortally wounded. †

† He survived and continued in Congress until 1811.

change for the better. On the receipt of your letter, relative to the embargo, I had several conversations with our Merchants on the propriety of calling together the inhabitants. They thought a few weeks later its effect would be felt and a desire to request its repeal more general. Since that time events have been constantly announced to us, which show the embarrassed State of Commerce, and by many have been cited, as proving the wisdom of those, who proposed and imposed the embargo. Some of our men, who have generally voted & acted with the federalists, being extremely rich & fearful of losing any portion of their property, are weak enough to believe the Measures of the Executive will prevent a war, & therefore speak favourably of the Embargo, and that the chances of war are diminished by our having no vessels on the Ocean to be captured.

We are doing everything in our Legislature that the vilest democrat can suggest—regardless of those principles, which elevated and secured the Rights of our forefathers. Mr. Pickering's letter, of which John has a copy, was received by the Governor last Tuesday evening or Wednesday morning ; on Monday a motion was made in the Senate to send for the same. This did not prevail ; it is said he sent it back again. J. Q. Adams wrote him last Saturday that, according to Mr. Pinkney's Dispatches, G. Britain had given unequivocal proofs of her Intention to make war on the U. States. This was a private letter and therefore only communicated to his particular friends. We have some Hope that P's. Communication, of which we shall distribute 5000 copies, may arouse our People from their sleep, which really appears like the sleep of death ; but even of this I dare not predict. A Question is frequently asked here, whether the States to the East of the Delaware might not combine for the Purpose of preventing a war with Great Britain, and whether a portion of your democrats would not unite in this Object, and if this be probable, whether a convention of Merchants might not be advantageously assembled to deliberate on their affairs, and the Embarrassments they suffer in consequence of their being deprived of their accustomed Business. . . .

Yours affectionately

C. Gore.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Washington, March 28, 1808

Dear Sir:

. . . We have our war-days and our peace-days at the seat of Government. On Saturday evening some democratic members, who had dined with the President, reported that he told them he had received dispatches from Mr. Pinkney of a more conciliatory nature: and that there was *now* no more occasion for war with G. B., than at any period of his administration; and that there would be no necessity for an army! very truly yours

T. Pickering.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Washington, March 30, 1808.

Dear Sir:

. . . To-day we had confidential communications from Mr. Pinkney to the 26th January & from Mr. Armstrong to the 22d of that month. On French affairs the communications are manifestly partial; not one word from Mr. Madison to Armstrong—and but two from the latter to Madison—one dated Dec. 27, the other Jany. 22. In great haste Faithfully yours

T. Pickering.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Washington, Apr. 2, 1808.

Dear Sir:

I think I have already announced to you a secret message, with dispatches from Armstrong. For 3 days the opposition members have been engaged to draw forth Champagny's letter. To-day the President, as of *his own mere action*, sent a message with permission to have it printed, as a means of promoting Union &c! I enclose a copy of the letter.* yrs truly

T. Pickering.

* Translation of the letter from M. Champagny to Genl. Armstrong.

Paris, Jany. 15, 1808.

Sir:

The different notes which you have done me the honour to address to me, have been laid before his Majesty.

The proceedings of England towards all Governments are so contrary to the law of Nations, and to all the rules constantly observed even among enemies

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

N. YORK, April 2, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

On my return from Long Island where I have been attending to my garden, I recd. your kind letter of the 25th. ulto. with a copy of the correspondence with England respecting the Chesapeake. I am now engaged in reading it: the result is such as I have anticipated. The communications from the French Government are to be such as concern "the General Relations" between the two Countries—a restriction that will keep back all

that no recourse against this power is any longer to be found in the ordinary means of repression. In order to annoy her it is become necessary to turn against her the arms which she makes use of herself; and if transient inconveniences result therefrom, it is to her alone that they are to be imputed. Since England respects no laws, how could they be respected with regard to her? The Maritime laws which she violates—ought they to still be a protection to her? And if some powers tolerate the infractions committed on their independence, could they have the right to require that France alone should restrain herself within the limits, which her enemy has everywhere overleaped?

The U. States more than any other power have to complain of the aggression of England. It has not been enough for her to offend against the independence of their Flag, nay against that of their territory, and of their inhabitants, by attacking them even in their ports, by forcibly carrying away their crews; her decrees of the 11th November have made a fresh attack on their commerce and on their Navigation, as they have done on all the Powers.

In the situation in which England has placed the Continent, especially since her decrees of the 11th of November, his Majesty has no doubt of a declaration of war against her by the U. States. Whatever transient sacrifices war may occasion, they will not believe it consistent either with their interest or dignity, to acknowledge the monstrous principle and the anarchy which that Govt. wishes to establish on the seas. If it be useful and honourable for all Nations to cause the true Maritime law of nations to be re-established, and to avenge the insults committed by England, against every flag, it is indispensable for the U. States, who from the extent of their commerce have oftener to complain of those violations. War exists in fact between England & the U. States, and his Majesty considers it as declared from the day on which England published her decrees.

In that persuasion his Majesty, ready to consider the U. States as associated with the cause of all the powers, who have to defend themselves against England, has not taken any definite measure towards the American Vessels which may have been brought into our ports; he has ordered that they should remain sequestered, until a decision may be had thereon according to the dispositions which shall have been expressed by the Govt. of the U. States.

Annals of Congress 1807–8. 1st Sessn. p. 183.

that regards the particular Relations, which are precisely those concerning which we are, as we have been, kept in the dark. I certainly consider it as a matter of deep regret that the difficulty respecting the Chesapeake has not been totally removed : enough has been done to prevent a rupture between the two nations on that subject ; but in the crisis of our affairs it would have been a great and good step towards security had the ordinary intercourse and good understanding been re-established between us and England.

If we may understand Mr. Madison as having consented to waive all the subjects or points, alluded to in the Proclamation, except the affair of the Chesapeake, and to have offered to recall the Proclamation, provided the reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake shd. be satisfactory, I cannot help believing that it would have been the best policy, and in nothing exceptionable (had Mr. Rose's powers permitted) that the offer of a liberal reparation should have been made ; and I am the more disposed to this Opinion by every reflection, which suggests that a satisfactory adjustment of this misunderstanding would inevitably have been followed by a decisive State of things with France.

I do not recollect that I have had the pleasure of writing to you since we received Copies of your letter to Gov. Sullivan.* I need not say to you all I think on the Subject of your Letter, but you will allow me to offer you my sincere thanks for writing it.

always & faithfully yrs.

RUFUS KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, 8th April, 1808.

MY DEAR FRIEND ;

Our election has ended full as well as ever could have been expected. We have reason to believe that Cumberland County will

*A Letter from the Hon. Timothy, a Senator * * from the State of Mass., exhibiting to his constituents a View of the Imminent Danger of an unnecessary and Ruinous War, Addressed to his Excellency James Sullivan, Governor of the said State.

Mr. Adams answered this letter in one controverting the opinions of Mr. Pickering, addressed to H. G. Otis and sent to W. S. Shaw "to get it printed immediately"—J. Q. Adams Mem. 1. p. 522–3.

send two federal Senators to the Legislature, in which case, there will be a majority of Federalists in the Senate. There is also some ground to hope Cobb will be returned as Lt. Govr. This will probably be more mortifying to the Democrats than the Loss of Sullivan, as the latter is undoubtedly not their favorite, although Lincoln is.

In this town we are becoming divided on Questions, where we should suppose no division of sentiment could exist. It is imputable to a multitude of little passions which operate on the minds of men who by nature are placed in Stations under what they aspire to, and which they are unable to attain without relinquishing their Character as honest men & procuring a Degree of Boldness, in which they are deficient, for the Democratic Party, or without more understanding or better Information to make them Leaders of the Federalists. J. Q. A. has conspired to produce much of the evil we now experience in this State of our Affairs: and a letter of his is to be published in this Town on Monday next, in answer to Col. Pickering's. yours truly

C. GORE.

R. SMITH (SECY. OF THE NAVY) TO R. KING.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, April 9, 1808.

SIR:

I have the honor of herewith transmitting to you for your acceptance an impression of the Medal presented to the late Commodore Edward Preble in pursuance of the Resolution of Congress of the 3d. March, 1805.

I am very respectfully, Sir, yr. most obed st.

R. SMITH.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

NEW YORK, April 12, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

I yesterday received from you two Packets containing the correspondence relative to the British Treaty to page 69, and by this mail send you Mr. Baring's Pamphlet, lately republished here, respecting the commercial Relations between us & G. Britain.

Tho' this performance contains little that will be new to an American conversant with the subject, it nevertheless communicates a great deal of information to Englishmen.

The construction of the Peace of Berlin, the same that Mr. Pinkney has adopted, is indefensable and will do harm. Should the English Ministry be unable to maintain their standing, their successors will annul the Orders of Council, which so far as respects the taxation of our Merchandise, are a most impolitic measure.

It may be apprehended that the issue of the Massachusetts Election will encourage our Rulers to persevere in measures, that must prove ruinous to the Trade & Navigation of the Northern States. Such, however, is the infatuation of the Country, that the authors of these measures lose little of their former popularity. Time & the continued inconvenience, which all will feel, must & will work a change.

Very faithfully yr. ob. st.

RUFUS KING.

The Federalists of this State will offer Candidates, but I suspect with less zeal than formerly.

R. SMITH TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, April 22, 1808.

SIR:

I have just received your favour of the 13th of this month in answer to my official communication to you of the 9th.

The critical remarks of a gentleman of classical taste and of liberal mind cannot but be at all times highly acceptable to every person who has any pretensions to polite literature. I am justly sensible of the full force of your criticism on the words "Vindici Commercii Americani"—namely that "it may hereafter upon the mere evidence of this medal be uncertain whether Edward Preble was an American or a Foreign Admiral." But, pray, are not the words "Commercii patriæ Vindici" proposed by you to be substituted, liable to precisely the same objection? In both cases the words would convey, only by implication, the idea that he was an American. The essential difference between the

words adopted and the words proposed is that the latter might hereafter have the misfortune to be applied not only to a foreign officer, but also to the commerce of the very country of such foreigner.

As to the word "Tripoli" I know not on what authority you have considered it a regular & classical noun of the third declension. Writing as I now am, in my publick office, and of course not having within my reach a Latin book of any kind, I have to rely altogether upon my recollection; and this strongly inclines me to the opinion that your position has not the sanction of any Latin writer. In the Legend you have doubtless perceived that the word Tripoli has been used as an indeclinable noun.

Be pleased to accept an assurance of the real esteem with which I have the honor to be

Sir, yr. ob. Sevt.

R. SMITH.

R. SMITH TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1808.

SIR:

Your favour of the 25th I have had the honour of receiving and I am truly sorry to find that you cannot reconcile yourself to the Medal of our deceased friend. Its intention being to preserve the image of an illustrious countryman and the memory of one of his gallant achievements, "et tui et mei interest" that its real value be not in any degree diminished by a supposed oversight in its inscription. Had the words "Commercii patriæ vindici" happened to have occurred to me, they possibly—nay probably—would, euphoniæ gratia, have been preferred.

In my last letter it was my intention not to have expressed any serious opinion of my own upon your proposed substitute, but merely to have suggested what the meddling hypercriticks of this busy world might perchance have been disposed to insinuate. And let me now add that the same captious gentry might even ask, how a man who had no knowledge of the history of Rome or of the biography of Cicero could discover in Cicero's title, "Pater Patriæ" that the "Pater" was a Roman, or the "Patriæ" Rome. Such unlimited criticism however is not to be regarded. Every

person, who has at all attended to this branch of knowledge, will know that Medals are not considered as isolated monuments, but that they and history are ever viewed in connexion and in illustration of each other. A Medal is, indeed, not unfrequently of use in ascertaining the chronology of, and in elucidating an important event, and, in truth, to be duly sensible of the intrinsick merits of ancient Medals a man must be not only a connoisseur in drawing and engraving, but must, moreover, be well versed in the history, the antiquities and the ceremonies of ancient Nations.

I must entreat your indulgence in remarking that your citations from Livy only show what no person can controvert, that Tripol*is* is a regular noun of the third declension. This name from its etymology could not have been given by the Romans but to a City formed of three Cities contiguous to each other; and although the Greek Polis was compounded by the Romans as the French Ville is by us, yet there is no instance of its having been done by the Romans, nor I trust by us, in utter disregard of the true meaning of the terms. The Romans never could have called a Kingdom or a Province Tripolis: nor we a State or a Country Fayetteville &c. In Africa they have given the name of Tripoli, not only to their principal city, but to their Kingdom. And it is not material in the present inquiry whether this name was or was not originally a corruption of Tripolis. It is sufficient to know that this African city was never a Roman City and was never by them called Tripolis, but has ever been and yet is known and distinguished in every Atlas by the name of Tripoli. If then the words "ante Tripolim" had been used in the Legend, we would have been exposed to the imputation of altering the distinguishing name of the City as every scholar must necessarily have translated such words into "before Tripolim."

When the *modern* name of a City has even the termination of the nominative case of a Latin noun of either declension, we may at pleasure, use it either in the vernacular forms, or as a declinable Latin Noun. The former I prefer. In the latter there is to my taste a quaintness. But de gustibus &c &c.

With unfeigned Esteem, Sir, truly yours

R. Smith.

P. S.—It is somewhat curious that you & I should thus find our-

selves involved in a kind of controversial correspondence—and about *words*.* As the Medal is immutable, can any good result from its further continuance—"Aestimo te magni." R. S.

* There is among Mr. King's papers one on *words*, which tho' it does not properly relate to these letters, shows how certain words may derive a meaning from circumstances connected with their application.

WORDS.

Words without meaning or with wrong meaning have especially of late years done great harm. Liberty, Love of Country, Federalism, Republicanism, Democracy, Jacobin, Glory, Philosophy and Honor are words in the mouth of everyone and without any precision used by any one; the abuse of words is as pernicious as the abuse of things. Apostacy is another word of Party.

The majority are careless or ignorant. Such a man is an apostate, says some impudent Quack, because he separates from the party with which he commenced his career; the Calumny is believed and Character is lost. What is Glory, what is Patriotism, what is apostacy? are they names or things?

When the French Revolution began, the hope which almost all men entertained was that a great and highly cultivated People would be able to change their dependence on a purely Monarchical Government and acquire a portion of personal freedom, which should elevate them in the scale of society and increase the mass of private happiness; hence their good feelings and good wishes toward France.

But when in the course of the Revolution Despotism instead of Freedom, became more firmly established, altho' the change was effected in the name of Liberty, and still called Freedom, who were in reality the Apostates? Those who adhered to France, or those who withdrew their good wishes and feelings from her? Plain as the answer is, it has nevertheless been the latter who have been branded as the Apostates. Bonaparte on his first usurpation was hailed as the Friend of Liberty. When he afterwards made himself Emperor, these men found this change consistent with their notions of Liberty and seemed to have been particularly charmed with his new stock Nobility.†

†"The Cloth of Honour should be strongly woven," said the great Captain Gonsalvo de Cordova. One great object gained by the Revolution will be that "the people of the ante-chamber and the kitchen should take possession of the Drawing Room," said Sieyes.

N. B.—It was an instruction of Bonaparte to his first agents in for. countries —so he instructed Goldsmith—to address themselves to the men who were always speaking on Reform, Love of Country, Natural Independence, the zealous Advocates of Liberty, wherever to be found.

CHAPTER VI.

W. King to King—Large Numbers in Maine against the present Measure of the Administration—Gore to King—May choose Electors by the Legislature—Suggested as Senator of U. S.—Baring to King—His Son's Pamphlet—Gore to King—Committee appointed to correspond with Federalists about the next Election of President—Gore to King—Proposed a meeting of Federalists in New York—Federalists prefer federal Candidate—Alternative Clinton—Dr. Mason to King—Condoles with him on account of an Accident to his Son—King to Mason—Responds—King to Gore—Astonished at Parsons views about the Presidential Election—Clinton not supported in N. Y. against Madison—Ewing's Career—King to Gore—Trees for Jamaica—Better Temper in England respecting America—Pickering to King—Embargo to be continued—N. England Opposition makes President's Friends uneasy—Anecdote relative to Franklin in the Peace Negotiations—King to Pickering—Madison and Neutral Rights as affected by the Berlin Decree—Gore to King—Disappointment in Boston the Embargo is not repealed—Sufferings unbearable—Articles in Ev'g Post, on France's Infringement of Treaty attributed to King.

Wm. King to R. King.

Boston, May 24, 1808.

Dear Sir :

I duly received yours of the 6th & 12th inst. Considering the present situation of the country, there are many persons in this State and in the District of Maine in particular, who have been supporting the present administration, who would have had no objections to the termination of your State election in the way you first apprehended (Federal)

How the parties will stand here is at present uncertain as it respects the organization of the Government, but this you can calculate on to a certainty that there will be a large majority that will not approve the present measures of the administration. The interest which I mentioned to you is now formidable ; I think it will extend to one half of the democratick members of

the District of Maine. It is a mercantile interest which they believe has been neglected. When the Resolution approving the measures of the Government came up from the House to the Senate the last winter, they were postponed from day to day for more than 10 days at my request and that of some of my commercial friends, who were then of the opinion that there was not information enough before the Public to authorize an approbation of the Embargo in particular. However we found it necessary then to give way, or break with the persons with whom we acted. The difficulties on the part of some of the Republican's were exaggerated and sent abroad with a view to injure in the estimation of the People men who they observed had a deep commercial interest which they were disposed to accommodate in preference to that of the general interest of the country. This information had an effect the reverse of what they had contemplated.

There will be no difficulty here in obtaining such Electors, whether they are chosen by the Legislature or the People at large, as your friends would think favourably of. Since Congress adjourned, the people almost despair of any thing being done for them as promptly as they had reason to expect, and I am of the opinion that had the adjournment taken place before the International Election, Mr. Gore would have been elected with a large majority ; such was the immediate effect it had & continues still to have. Should things remain in the present situation until the fall, there must be I think a change of men. Should the Election of members of Congress come on now with the present feelings of the people, not more certainly than three Democratick members would be returned from this State. If other States are similarly influenced there can be but little do'bt what the result of the fall Elections will be ; with the Elections of the Spring I have taken no part and feel inclined to look on for a time, at least until I am better satisfied. . . .

Your affectionate Brother Wm. King

C. GORE TO R. KING.

MY DEAR FRIEND : BOSTON, May 28, 1808.

. . . Our Friends have been uncommonly anxious for my return, which, however, I am confident, could have been attended

with no good. It would have been impossible for me to have avoided being Speaker. . . . We have a majority of about 30 (in the House) & yesterday morning we elected Senators to fill up the vacancies there. It now consists of 23 Federal members & 17 Democrats.

We shall probably pass some Vote or Resolve for choosing Electors by the Legislature. Sullivan might plague us in approving of any Resolve, and in looking into our State and the Federal Constitution, we are generally convinced that the two Branches alone have the right of directing the manner, and that the Resolve need not go to him for his approbation. Some of our people hesitate on the Expediency of this proceeding because it will not be according to the usage of the country, but I trust they will accede to our wishes.

We shall choose a Senator this Session ; but who it will be I cannot say. To take one that cannot be objected to by the friends of Mr. Adams seems the great Difficulty. The Federalists have been very importunate with me on this subject, believing that such a choice would be made as to prevent all chance of a Division. Whether this be true, I cannot judge, but the Sacrifice of personal feeling, or of interest, by absence, would be greater than I think I am required to make. Mr. Lloyd is thought of & would certainly be an acquisition from his commercial knowledge &c., &c. . . . yours truly

C. Gore.

P. S. Sullivan gives a Certificate to whomever applies for permission to import Flour ; his son George taking only one dollar for the Certific. . . .

F. Baring to R. King.

London, 3d June, 1808.

My Dear Sir :

. . . I trust that my son's performance has reached you. The first edition was sent forth in too much haste & under the pressure of severe illness. . . . It was undoubtedly intended as an answer to "War in disguise," but as nothing has appeared from its author in reply & that the opinion is generally favorable even by Government to the facts and principles which it contains, much good may be said to have been done. Ministers and their

friends say, it is too much American, for something they must say, but they cannot point out any part that will admit of such an interpretation & their language in public has been much more conciliatory since its appearance. Unfortunately there is a degree of false shame which induces many to persist in error, rather than to acknowledge it, and if the late administration with "all the Talents" did not succeed, it must be admitted that their successors do not posses that superior intellect which enables great men to overcome prejudices. It may almost be said that there is but one man and one system in the world, and that defence, or rather the contest for self preservation, consists in a strict literal opposition according to the circumstances of the moment, without contemplating any large or deep plan which shall aid the courage and firmness manifested everywhere, and on which minds rely too much. . . .

Your most truly faithful hum. servant

F. BARING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Thursday, June 8, 1808.

To avoid all question about the Governor's approbation of a Resolve appointing the manner of choosing Electors, we at first voted to postpone the consideration of the subject until the next Session. We then voted to ask an adjournment, until the 2d Thursday in November; then to meet for the purpose of choosing Electors &c. The Democrats have had an Intention to embarrass this Measure, through the Governor, and may probably attempt it, when we come to request the Adjournment, but I have no great apprehensions on the subject.

Mr. Adams last night sent a letter to the Legislature, resigning his office of Senator. We have elected Lloyd. Our answer to the Governor's are in unison with the Resolutions.

We have appointed a Committee to correspond with the Federalists in the other States on the business of the next Election of President & V. President. I think the Federalists were never more united or more encouraged than at present. The Embargo is producing real & extensive distress and the officers are acting very indiscreetly, if not wantonly, in taking Flour from Stores on the Schoodiac and carrying it to the Custom House where it lies

as is said, uncovered and exposed to the weather ; and many actions we are told, are commenced against the officers. . . .

C. Gore.

C. Gore to R. King.

My Dear Sir : Boston, June 16, 1808.

Our Committee of Correspondence, which was appointed by a Committee of twenty, which 20 were chosen by the Federalists consisting of nearly three hundred, is composed of George Cabot, Otis, Lloyd, Bigelow & myself. We met on Saturday last, & immediately sent Livermore to N. Hampshire, and we are flatter'd with the Belief that the Electors of that State will be federal.

After some Conversation it was deemed advisable to propose a meeting of Federalists, from as many States, as could be seasonably notified, at New York the last of this, or the Beginning of the next month : and Bigelow sets off on Monday for Vermont to consult and arrange with the Feds of that State, on their sending some person or persons to the meeting in N. York ; and to attain the best Data for forming an opinion as to the Result of their Election. Otis is now at R. Island. This measure of the proposed meeting was adopted for the purpose of concerting our arrangements, & ascertaining, as far as could be done, the Weight of the Federalists in the next Election, and how to dispose the power they might be possessed of. It was hastened by a letter from Mr. Hare of Philadelphia, who stated the necessity of the Federalists knowing in Philadelphia, what was conceived to be the best course to be pursued, whether to attempt bringing in a Federal Prest. &c. or to unite with the Clintonians, that they might begin to canvass accordingly for Electors. Hare's opinion, so far as could be gather'd from his Letter, appeared to be in favour of running the Federal Candidates, although the probability was against our Success ; and Judge Sedgwick (who is in Philadelphia, probably with a view of gaining some heat for his Autumnal Campaign, which is to be matrimonial, with Miss Penelope Russell of about 40 years of age, who does not appear likely to be gratified with the Coldness or Imbecility of age) communicates similar opinions with Hare. Our Gentlemen are anxious to support a federal Candidate, and that from New York, instead of the one from S. Carolina ; provided there is the least probability of Success. But

if this should not be the case, I think they have a leaning to Clinton, under the Idea, that he would support and cherish Commerce, and further that they could make a Bargain, with which he would comply, as to the principal measures & offices of Government. It was not known to whom it was best to write to in New York & therefore writing there is postponed.

Bigelow will go to Burlington. George Blake, who is just returned, says that Clinton will have no support, not even in New York. His opinions are never entitled to much Consideration. The Democratic Leaders have remained in Town this week, but with what Design I do not conjecture. They will endeavor to push Sullivan, to some desperate Act in Relation to the Electors, but he is so vacillating and feeble, that I have no great apprehensions on this score, unless circumstances at the Day should be very different from what they now are.

We are looking with Anxiety to France, & with hopes, that the Dismissal of Armstrong may be confirmed ; still not without great Fears, that some soothing speeches, if not promises, may be made by the Emperor. However vague they might be, they would do us infinite mischief at this time. I shall keep this Letter to send by a private conveyance, for I entertain no Doubt that Mr. Jefferson's postmasters open all letters which are directed to men of consideration. . . .

Old Mr. Adams says the present President is void of all capacity to preside over the affairs of a Nation, & the country is now ruled by an abominable Faction, which is second to none in the World, in Wickedness and Folly, except the Essex Junto ; that is fairly entitled to Pre-eminence in these qualities. The young man wrote his Letter of Resignation, and so far as I have heard of him, is silent. He walks into State Street at the usual Hour of Exchange, but seems totally unknown. . .

Yours truly, C. Gore.

Dr. I. M. Mason to R. King.

New York, 27 July, 1808.

Dear Sir :

Will it be convenient to send the letters you were so good as to promise me for the Eastward ? A parcel directed to me I should

suppose would come safe by the Jamaica stage. After to-morrow I know not that I shall wait for anything but your letters. I should have called to see you had my occupations permitted. The interest you take in your friends is the principle by which I hope you will estimate the pain with which I heard of the alarming accident to Frederick,* and my joy in the expectation that your fears may be happily disappointed. It is a beneficent dispensation by which God draws back his protecting hand for a moment, and stretches it out again the next—a strong and gracious appeal to the heart confirming all the dictates of the understanding, and the doctrines of his word, concerning our entire dependence upon him & the watchfulness of his fostering care. The peril and the preservation of your boy are worth a thousand abstract syllogisms to establish not only the truth, but the consolations of a particular providence. Who, that is not insane, would sacrifice, for all the substitutes of a freezing philosophy, the sweet repose of the heart upon this assurance that "as a father pitieth his children, so Jehovah pities them that fear him?" I have grievously erred, my dear Sir, if observations like these shall appear to you impertinent. My apology must be, that I know not how more forcibly to express my personal attachment than by my wishes and prayers that the bosom of my most valued friend may be the abode of the faith, the purity and the peace of the gospel.

I shall be much gratified to hear that Mrs. King has suffered no serious inconvenience from the shock she must necessarily have felt from the injury to her son—Make my best regards acceptable to her & to the rest of your family; and believe me to be, my dear Sir, with esteem & affection

Yours & truly I. M. Mason.

R. King to Revd. Doct. Mason.

Jamaica, L. I., July 28, 1808.

Dear Sir:

I have received your friendly letter of yesterday and both Mrs. King & myself are heartily thankful to you for the kind wishes

* In jumping from a hay mow in the barn, he was struck in the forehead by one of the tines of a pitchfork which was standing upright. No serious result followed, as the bone was not pierced.

and consoling Reflexions that it contains. Tho' the poor child's wound was extremely hazardous, and the danger is not yet passed, he has, thanks to God, suffered very little pain ; and as no unfavourable symptom has hitherto occurred, we are encouraged to hope that it may be the merciful will of the Almighty that his dear life shall be spared to us.

The enclosed letters are all I have been able to prepare, being called off by Company. If you think it probable that you shall go to Portsmouth, I will send you some other letters for that place, as also one or two for Salem.

With sincere regards I remain, Dear Sir,
yrs faithful & obed. RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Sept. 27, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . I congratulate you on the issue of the Election in R. I., N. H., and Vermont, for although we have no official Report respecting the last, the probability is in favour of a favourable result. I have been a little disappointed to hear from Hartford, Conn., that Chief Justice Parsons has been lately there, and as was there, supposed, for the purpose of changing their purpose in relation to the presidential Election—his wishes, which seem to be the same as those of Mr. Otis, met with no encouragement ; and the fact undoubtedly is that with the exception of the New Haven Senator, no man of distinction in that State can be persuaded to adopt these heretical opinions. As to this State, every article of information confirms the opinion that there is not a single individual (out of Govr. Clinton's family) who is a person of influence in the democratical party, that supports Gov. Clinton's pretensions in opposition to Madison. Perhaps the Democrats in no State are more generally and efficiently united in favour of Madison than in this State.

Our accounts from New Jersey & Pennsylvania are highly encouraging ; and according to opinions of the present date the federal Cause is there likely to prevail in the approaching Elections.

Why does not Park expose and dwell upon the character of

Mr. Ewing, our locum tenens Ambassador at Madrid? Let his reputation and connexion be exposed—let it be told that for the inferior intrigues in which he was employed to promote Jefferson's Election, he was rewarded by an immediate appointment as Consul, Agent to protect seaman and agent to prosecute Claims before the Board of Comrs. at London—afterwards appointed Secretary to the Legation to Madrid, where he found no difficulty in going, tho' his Principal was unable to reach the place of his Destination. At Madrid he has become the instrument of Bonaparte, and abused his office by covering as American Dispatches, the Dispatches of Murat to his agents in So. America. Young, the Consul, was perhaps ignorantly employed in carrying the Dispatches, which have been seized by the Patriots, and are likely to have a most unfavourable influence on our connexion & interests with Spain. Ewing, Duane & Haley are men fit for the same employ, and whose appointments evince the influence of France upon our Govt. faithfully yr. ob. St. *Not signed.*

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, L. I., Oct. 10, 1808.

Dear Sir:

As the season is at hand for fall planting, I must remind you of the young Elms, and request that you would employ some person to inform you when there happens an opportunity from your Port to New York, in order that the trees may be put on board.

If Mr. Honeywell has any larches or other ornamental trees that he would spare, I should be obliged to him to send me some in exchange for any of the Fruit Trees or Shrubs to be obtained in this Quarter.

As to politicks, I discern nothing that must not be equally evident to you and others who read the news-papers. There is, as I hear, a prevailing opinion in town among persons engaged in trade that the Embargo will soon be raised. For my own part, I am not able to perceive the Evidence that authorizes this opinion. If the alternative be war or Embargo, as Mr. Jefferson alleges to be the case, I conclude that the Embargo will be continued. Besides if no material Change has occurred in respect to

the Motives for imposing this measure, how can its authors consistently remove it.

Should the Elections demonstrate still further loss of popular confidence, this circumstance may, & probably will, have its influence, and I am deceived in the views of our Rulers, or nothing short of this inducement will engage them to retract their measures.

The latest accounts from England are, as it seems to me, of considerable importance. I do not refer to their Military Expeditions, but to the temper which prevails there respecting America, and to the change of disposition that has taken place concerning this Country. Should the tide of French success stop or turn, and the Spirit of England rise, our removal of the Embargo, and recalling the Proclamation, excluding the English Navy from our ports, may not enable us to prosecute trade without interruption. The course of complaint and remembrance may change, and instead of making them they may be addressed to us. The consequence of such a state of things, if our present Rulers are supported may be of the most serious nature.

Farewell—always & faithfully yr,

Not Signed

HORATIO SOUTHGATE TO R. KING.

PORTLAND, Nov. 15, 1808.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 10th of Oct. last I have received & have with pleasure attended to your request.

Mars has shipped on board Capt. Blanchard's Packet to Boston, there to be placed on board a New York packet, three boxes, containing two hundred and fifty plants viz. Silver fir, double spruce, hemlock spruce, larch and white pine—fifty each. Mr. Mars prefers sending on all the plants this fall, observing for reason that the spring is so much later here than with you, that our plants could not be taken out of the ground until your season was too far advanced to admit of their succeeding; resembling birds of passage, they must travel north in the spring and south in the fall of the year.* . . . I hope you will receive them in safety & am with respect, Your very hble. Servt.

HO. SOUTHGATE.

* It was incorrectly stated in vol. iv., p. 464 of this work that these trees were sent by Mr. Sheaffe.—EDITOR.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Washington, Nov. 19, 1808.

Dear Sir :

In a packet accompanying this you will find the President's Message and the communications referred to relative to the negotiations with Great Britain and France.

It is manifestly the intention of Mr. Jefferson & party to continue the embargo, if they think it possible that the people will bear it.

The order for equipping a hundred thousand militia, to be ready at a moment's warning, has probably two objects.—one, by exciting a general alarm to induce the people, dreading war, to acquiesce in Mr. Madison's election under the idea that a change at such a crisis would be hazardous to our union & defense : the other , to deter the people of the northern States from any attempt to resist a measure which is working their destruction, by the imposing attitude of the militia of the democratic states, in readiness to attack them. The injunction in Dearborn's letter to the Governors—to select *Officers* who can be depended on—wears this aspect.

The firm but cool resolve of Connecticut and the proceedings in general, in New England, in opposition to the embargo, have excited great uneasiness in the breasts of the administration ; but the President's infallibility must be maintained, and the pride of the party knows not how to consent to any essential change, while the measures of the belligerents (of G. B. especially) remain unchanged.

While writing my long letter to Govr. Pinckney in January 1787, vindicating our Govt. against Mr. Adet's false and insulting accusations, I had occasion to look into Mr. Jay's correspondence while negociating with Mr. Oswald the preliminary Articles of Peace. I remember the endeavours of Count Vergennes to persuade him to relinquish to Spain the western territory, I believe, as far East as the mountains dividing the waters running into the Atlantic from those running into the Mississippi : but I do not recollect meeting with what I uniformly heard, that the French Court attempted to persuade our Ministers to relinquish the Fisheries on the Bank of Newfoundland, &c. You are, I doubt

not, perfectly possessed of all the information, which the journals of Congress or Mr. Jay's communications on that business could furnish. If you can find time, I shall be greatly obliged for your stating to me the important facts : what right our own French Party in the Congress of that day were willing to give up, to please the court of France, and of what that Court, by open demand & by intrigue, endeavoured to deprive us. I well remember Master Lovell (a member of the Committee for foreign affairs) once showed me a letter from Dr. Franklin (I think in the winter of 1781 when I went from the army to Philadelphia on business) in which the Doctor complained of Mr. Adams' want of Complaisance towards Count Vergennes, by which he had given offence, adding, " for my part I am determined to please the Court of France." I remember too Mr. Lovell's exclamation on reading those words of the Doctor, " an old Rascal." This same complaisant disposition in the Doctor continued until the terms of our peace with G. B. were *fixed* ; when with his wonted art, he came about and agreed with Mr. Jay & Mr. Adams. His devotion to the French Court was so manifest that (as the impression from Mr. Jay's letters rests on my mind) Mr. Jay was afraid to trust him with the knowledge of his negotiations with Oswald.

Mr. Monroe had acquired some credit among Federalists ; but his correspondence with Mr. Jefferson recently published, has completely downed him,

I am dear Sir very truly yours, T. PICKERING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

JAMAICA, L. I., Dec. 1, 1808.

DEAR SIR :

I should have returned a more seasonable answer to your letter of the 19th past, had I not from day to day expected to remove to town—where only I can make the Examination that may enable me to answer your enquiry ; we are still detained in the Country ; but propose to remove to town, if the weather be favourable, in the early part of next week.

Mr. Madison to avoid the charge of acquiescence, has contended that the Berlin Decree did not infringe our *Neutral Rights* in any

case antecedent to the case of the Horizon. What are we to understand by Neutral Rights? Undoubtedly the Rights that a nation at peace may claim to enjoy when other nations are at war—Belligerent and neutral are therefore correlatives. By the Convention with France it is agreed, when France is at war, and the U. S. at peace, that the American Flag shall cover and protect enemy goods, that the presence of a national ship of the U. S. shall free her convoy from visit and search, that Amer. ships may pass and repass between the Ports of France and those of her Enemy &c. &c.—not having the Treaty at hand, I cite from memory. Are not these neutral Rights? As they exist only in the case when the U. S. are neutral & France at war, they most undoubtedly are neutral Rights. Did not the Berlin Decree violate these Rights immediately upon its publication? was not the arrest & sequestration of American vessels arriving in the Ports of France from the ports of England, *because they had thus come from the ports of England*, a direct violation of the above cited stipulation and therefore a violation of a neutral Right? The answer must be in the affirmative. How dare then our Govt. with the Document before them to affirm and endeavour to impose upon the Country so gross a misstatement as they have done in reference to this French Decree?

The Berlin Decree being an infringement of our Rights should have been resisted as a similar Decree of the Directory was resisted by the *Federalists* in 1798. We should have armed and passed a non-intercourse with France. Had we so done, there would have been no orders in Council, no Embargo, and probably before this we should have been again in Peace with France, for you will remember that this same Bonaparte concluded the Convention with the U. S. in 1800.

This however the present adminn. would not do, and for reasons I need not state to you. We are now told that the Embargo must be continued or the Country disgraced—admitting the alternative, how shameful it is, how criminal rather might I say, that the men who have brought the Country to this condition should have the effrontery to make this Declaration—The administration will be disgraced by the Repeal and they deserve to be; perhaps they merit more than disgrace.

But will the continuance of the Embargo save the Country

from Disgrace? as to its effect on France & England we have sufficient evidence of its inefficiency: the longer it is continued, the deeper our disgrace when it is raised. It is earnestly hoped that the Federalists will leave to the adminn. and its Supporters all projects by way of substitute to the Embargo. Having plunged the nation into its present embarrassment, let them bear the whole responsibility of their measures.

The Embargo must be repealed—that simple unqualified measure must be adopted—It is high time to discard visionary experiments—for God's sake let the Federalists abstain from any share in them.

Always & faithfully yr.,

R. K.

P. S. Having written in the midst of conversation, I would, could I do so, without losing a Post, re-write what I have written: but you will excuse whatever requires to be—slovenly writing must be admitted among friends.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, December 8, 1808.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

The Doings of Congress have disappointed many here, who expected that, under some pretence, the Embargo Acts would be repealed. This is now considered as permanent in regard to G. B. & F., but the men of business begin to flatter themselves that a permission to trade with Spain & Portugal will be granted, and that Acts authorizing such commerce will soon be passed. I confess that the Fear of Bonaparte, if no other consideration should suggest itself, will prevent any such measure from being adopted. The people of our Country are suffering extremely and must soon be reduced to absolute wretchedness; I mean that portion of them, who have hitherto subsisted by navigation, & especially by the fisheries. They are obliged to depend on charity for food & fuel. In Beverley & Marblehead this is manifestly the case. In the latter 2000 dollars has been borrowed by the Town to relieve the necessitous. In the former, private contributions have become very heavy: one Gentleman told me he

had already given to men, heads of families, more than 50 cords of wood in quantities of 2x4 feet—men under 50 years of age, healthy, honest & industrious, and who have on hand two years earnings in the fishery. This same person said many others in that Town had already given away much greater quantities in proportion to their means. In Cape Ann they have continued to send their Fish to market. In Portland, they have in several instances, set the Officers of Customs at defiance & sent their vessels to sea. Military companies are now marching Eastward, it is said, for Salem & Marblehead for the purpose of preventing violations of the Embargo, or, in the words of the Resolutions, to put the Country in a state of Defence. Genl. Strong, who has been here, thinks the people will soon require the influence of good men to Repress or guide their zeal in opposition to the National Government.

The remarks, under the signature of an American, in Coleman's Paper, on the Infringement of our Treaty by France & the base surrender of our Rights, by the Construction of our Administrations, of those Edicts, have been read with much Interest here, and are very generally attributed to your pen. The only part that seems to want further Illustration is the 3d Position, made under the 12th Art. of the Treaty, & to show that this is conformable to the Stipulations of the Treaty, and that under these Stipulations our Vessels have secured the Right to go from an English Port to France. Mr. Coleman does not state that Information of the case of the Victory was communicated to Mr. Madison: Such a Fact would have added to the weight of the Charge. . . .

Near the close of our Last Session two Resolves, a copy of which is inclosed, were submitted by Mr. Crowningshield of Salem and were committed to five Gentlemen of which I was Chairman to report at the next session. (One denouncing the British order of Council of Nov., 1807, interdicting all neutral trade with France, &c., as Violations of neutral rights, &c., to be removed by fair negotiation, if not to be resisted by all other means in their power—which resolve Mr. G. objects to—as the matter belongs to the Natl. Govt.)

As to the second ("Resolved that in case it shall appear to Congress that all fair attempts to remove said Orders & Decrees,

by Negotiation shall have been exhausted, and they shall find it nccessary to assume any other attitude of Resistance, it will be the Duty of the whole people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to rally round the Standard of their own Nation & its Government, and to afford them their utmost Support, by all constitutional means, in their Power ")—while it might be proper to express our Disposition to support the U. S. in all *just* & constitutional measures, we can never pledge ourselves to support them, in any *Attitude of Resistance* the present adminis. may assume, after the Experience we have had of their incapacity & imbecillity in choosing, as an Attitude of Resistance, that which injures ourselves infinitely more than it does any other Nation & destroys our means of manly & honourable resistance, and debases the Spirit & degrades the Character of our Country. They who are a little removed from the immediate Scene of Action are frequently better judges, & I pray you to reflect on this subject & give me your reflections, with such ideas, as suggest themselves & such authorities, as may show the Propriety or Impropriety of my own thoughts. Herein I will thank you to state any illustration of the Idea, contained in the third Proposition, alluded to in the former part of this letter. . . .

Affectionately your friend,

C. GORE.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Dec. 26, 1808.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . With respect to our political relations, we are still plunging deeper in distress. Our Citizens are suffering under great poverty, & will, I am satisfied, break out into open violence against the existing laws, unless they can violate them with Impunity. This will rather take place in the outposts than in Boston, where the Merchants are too rich to hazard much on uncertain projects & in Defiance of Law. Our Representatives will assemble heated with Resentment, and it will be difficult to restrain them within constitutional Bounds. What under all Circumstances will be proper to advise I feel extremely dubious.

How far the people of our own State will be disposed to confirm their Doings is questionable. In the Commonwealth we have probably a Majority not exceeding 4000 ; a small Error may even lose that. The other N. England States are probably not so ardent as Masstts. To run counter to them would destroy our own Majority & occasion a dreadful Revulsion. We should be thankful for the Judgment of our Friends a little distant from our Scene, though occupied by their own Distress, a little more impartial as to what is proper to be done here.

Yours truly,

C. Gore.

The communication in the *Evening Post* referred to by Mr. Gore is here given, with the Preliminary Remarks by the Editor of that paper.

To an Injured and Insulted People.

Americans :

I cannot, in duty to you, commit the following communication, highly interesting and important, lucid, learned and elegant as it is, without one word to arrest and fix your attention upon it.

In my last paper I expressed a lively regret that the gross violations of veracity, of which I had in three instances convicted the Secretary of State, in his official letter to the British minister, should not have been the most objectionable feature in that letter. In urging upon the Secretary the charge of falsehood in relation to the case of the Horizon, I was aware that that charge was open to a sort of answer, founded on a pretended distinction between captures on the high seas, and seizures in the ports of France ; but as the National Intelligencer waived the benefit of such distinction, I felt myself at liberty to meet him on his own ground. I reserved, however, for a separate paper, a different view of the subject, in which Mr. Madison should have been allowed the advantage here suggested, and thus been permitted to clear his reputation of a breach of veracity at the expense of incurring infinitely deeper guilt. That labor, however, has been done for me in a manner I could not hope to improve, by a learned correspondent who has sent me the communication which I now introduce to the public.

Read it, Americans, read it attentively, and behold how your public ministers are capable of becoming, not merely the apologists, but the defenders of a foreign government against your fellow citizens—read it and behold how they have treacherously, traitorously leagued in the base and flagitious design of sacrificing the rights and interests of their own country, to France—read it and behold an instance of abandoned profligacy, such as will call down the execration of America, and excite the contempt and abhorrence of mankind. That this is not the hasty ebullition of resentment, but the just and deliberate expression of feelings which the occasion demands, will be apparent to every one who will peruse what follows.

FOR THE EVENING POST.

MR. COLEMAN,

If Mr. Madison's friends feel that respect for his reputation that is pretended, they must suffer no small degree of mortification in reading the exposure of his official conduct that you have submitted to the public. A deviation from truth by private persons is always followed by loss of character, but a falsehood published by a public officer of high standing in the country, stamps disgrace upon the nation—There is but one way in which the assertion that the case of the ship Horizon was the first instance in which the Decree of Berlin was put in force against the *neutral rights* of the United States, can even be attempted to be reconciled with the previous one of the brig Victory. To hide the shame of our rulers' criminal submission to France, as well as to excite resentment against England, both they and our foreign ministers have set up and applied to these cases a distinction between the provisions of the Berlin Decree, which are territorial, to be executed in France, and the provisions which are extra territorial, and to be executed on the ocean. According to the doctrines of these faithless guardians of our rights, the former are lawful regulations, such as every nation is free to establish, and against which none may justly complain. "That his majesty, (says Gen. Armstrong in his letter to Champagny, dated August 6, 1808) has a right to make such municipal regulations as he may deem proper, with regard to foreign commerce has not been denied. For example, he may forbid the entry into the ports of

France of American ships which have touched in England, or been destined to England; and he may either sequester or confiscate such vessels of the United States as shall infract these laws after due promulgation and notice thereof; but beyond this, the United States *hope and* believe that his majesty will not go." And Mr. Madison, in his celebrated letter of March last to Mr. Erskine, defends the decree in the following manner:

"The French decree has two distinct aspects; one clearly importing an intended operation within the territorial limits, as a local law; the other apparently importing an intended operation on the high seas. Under the first aspect, the decree however otherwise objectionable, *cannot be said to have violated the neutrality of the United States.* If the governing powers on the continent of Europe choose to exclude from their ports, British property or British productions, or neutral vessels proceeding from British ports, it is an act of sovereignty, which the United States have no right to controvert. It is only, therefore, under the other aspect of the decree, *that it can have violated neutral rights.*"

It is unquestionably true, that every independent nation, that has entered into no compact by which its power is limited, may establish and execute within its territories such municipal laws as may be deemed advantageous; and it is under colour of this essential principal of sovereignty, applied to certain provisions of the Berlin Decree, that our administration have abandoned millions of the property of their fellow-citizens.

The provisions of this Decree and of its supplements, say our rulers, although they expose to confiscation American ships and cargoes that arrive in France from an English port, are a mere municipal law, to be executed within the territories of France, a law which France in virtue of her sovereignty was competent to establish, and of which we consequently cannot with justice complain.

The case of the brig Victory, and of others which had arrived in France from the ports of England, fell within the provisions of this municipal law, and notwithstanding the confiscation of these vessels with their valuable cargoes be matter of regret, it affords no just grounds of complaint. While on the contrary, the case of the ship Horizon, in which the Decree was extended to the

ocean, violated the incontestable rights of the United States. For this interpretation of the French Decrees, our republican administration are indebted, if I mistake not, to the opposition writers in England, and to some of the orators of the English parliament. Our minister at London availed himself of their discussions, and as has been said, sent over to his employers a report of a conference he had demanded with the English Secretary for foreign affairs on the subject of the French Decrees and English Orders, and in which he represents himself as having silenced and triumphed over his adversary by this sagacious explanation of the French Decree which with the inofficial explanation of the French minister of marine was represented as being altogether local, municipal and innocent; as a regulation of which the United States could not complain without impeaching the sovereignty of France, and which, as it violated none of the rights of nations, could not afford the slightest justification of the English Orders.* This dispatch having been laid before Congress, the argument, notwithstanding the closed doors, found its way into the public papers, to the no small edification of the friends and admirers of France.

To destroy the effect of this base apology for a flagrant act of injustice, to expose the criminal connivance of our rulers in the views of France, as well as to close up the only avenue by which the Secretary of State can escape from the disgrace that you have heaped upon him, I subjoin the following observations.

It has been stated to be of the essence of sovereignty, that a nation, which has not by any act limited its power, may establish and cause to be executed within its territories, such laws as are thought expedient: but a nation cannot, consistently with public law, do what it had promised to another not to do; such promise being a limitation of its sovereignty—it may not for example, by law forbid, what, by treaty with another, it had promised to permit. Thus, if in a treaty between England and the United States, the former engages to permit the importation of American cotton,

* There is some reason to believe that the purport of this dispatch has found its way back to England, as it appears from the documents lately submitted to Congress, that Mr. Canning required Mr. Pinkney to state in writing our proposal to repeal the Embargo if England would recall their Orders, in which course he might speak for himself and not through Mr. Pinkney in reply.

and the latter to permit the importation of English woollens for a certain number of years, neither, by a subsequent law may, within such term, forbid the importation of these articles.

So, if in a treaty between France and the United States, the former engages, that in case of war between France and England, the citizens of the United States may sail with their vessels and cargoes to the ports of England, and from thence to the ports of France ; and the latter engages in case of war between the United States and England, that the subjects of France may sail with their vessels and cargoes to the ports of England, and thence to the ports of the United States, neither would be at liberty to shut their ports against the vessels of the other, arriving from the ports of England ; and much less to make them liable, when so arriving, to confiscation. Neither might do so because each had by compact limited its sovereignty, so that it was incompetent to these acts.

By the XII. article of the Convention between France and the United States, concluded Sept. 30, 1800, it is mutually stipulated.

1st. That "it shall be lawful for the citizens of either country to sail with their ships and merchandise (contraband goods always excepted)from any port whatever, to any port of the enemy of the other, and to sail and trade with their ships and merchandise, with perfect security and liberty, from the countries, ports, and places of those who are enemies of both, or of either party, without any opposition or disturbance whatever ; and to pass, not only directly, from the places and ports of the enemy aforesaid to neutral ports and places, but also from one place belonging to an enemy, whether they be or be not under the jurisdiction of the same power, unless such ports or places shall be actually blockaded, besieged, or invested."

2d. That "vessels sailing for a port or place belonging to an enemy, without knowing that the same is either besieged, blockaded, or invested, may be turned away from such port or place, but they shall not be detained, nor any part of their cargo, (not contraband) confiscated, unless, after notice of such blockade or investment, they shall again attempt to enter ; but they shall be permitted to go to any other port or place they shall think proper."

3d. That "free ships shall give a freedom to goods, and that

every thing shall be deemed to be free and exempt, which shall be found on board the ships belonging to the citizens of either of the contracting parties, although the whole lading, or any part thereof, should appertain to the enemies of either ; contraband goods being always excepted."

To those who are familiar, as our rulers doubtless must be, with public treaties, their interpretation must be easy and unambiguous. But, owing to the manner in which these documents are generally drawn up, the reciprocity of their provisions, casts some obscurity on their import, especially when they are but curiously read by persons not accustomed to examine them. To remove this difficulty on the present occasion, I have thrown into the form of distinct propositions, the several engagements which France, by the above cited article, has made to the United States, in the case which actually exists, of a war between France and England, the United States being neutral.

By the XII. article, France engaged, and that engagement, so far as the stipulation of treaty goes, is now in full force.

1. That the citizens of the United States, may now sail with their ships and merchandize, (contraband goods excepted,) from any port whatever, to any port of England.

2. That they may, with perfect liberty and security, sail and trade with their ships and merchandise, from the ports of England, not only to any neutral part, but

3. That they may pass with their ships and merchandize, directly from the ports of England to the ports of France, and also directly from the ports of France to the ports of England, except such of them as shall be *actually* blockaded.

Without entering into an argumentative analysis of the XII. article to show that these propositions are neither more nor less than its just import warrants, I will request every impartial and intelligent man, who feels an interest in the honor of his country, to make the comparison for himself ; being confident that he must admit their fidelity.

If such be the tenor of our treaty with France, what becomes of the distinction relied upon by our administration, to excuse the enormities of France, between the territorial and extra-territorial provisions of the Berlin decree? Between one part of a decree to be executed within the national dominion, contrary to

an existing treaty, to good faith, and its guardian public law, and another part of the same decree to be executed upon the high seas, contrary to the law of nations? If the clauses in the decree of Berlin, subjecting to confiscation our ships and cargoes, going directly from the ports of England into the ports of France, be repugnant to an antecedent and existing treaty, they are in law, morality and honor, void, and France cannot enforce them, without a contemptuous violation of the rights of the United States.

Finally, if, in this one case, the stipulation of a treaty, and in the other the law of nations, forbid France to enforce the Decree of Berlin against America, she is alike restrained in each, and the rights of the United States have been equally infringed in both. It necessarily follows, that the proceeding in the case of the brig Victory, as well as in other cases of earlier date, are as flagrant a violation of the rights and honor of the United States, as those, which to the eternal infernal infamy of France, occurred in the case of the ship Horizon.

AN AMERICAN.*

Mr. Coleman makes the following article by "An American" a part of his (Coleman's) editorial entitled, "*The French Still Defended.*"

At the beginning of his last paragraph, he writes as follows:

"Just as I had finished the above I received the following from my correspondent, whose just and severe strictures (Nov. 29th) first drew forth the correspondent of the Public Advertiser. . . ."†

FOR THE EVENING POST.

MR. COLEMAN:

In order the more easily to come at the true meaning of the clauses of the XIIth article of the Convention with France, it seems to be proper to state the *casus federis:* The article relates

* From the *New York Evening Post*, Tuesday, November 29, 1808.

† Mr. Wm. Kelby, Librarian of the N. Y. Historical Society, has kindly furnished the Editor with these and several other interesting extracts.

to the conditions of the two parties when one is at war, and the other at peace.

This condition now exists; France being at war with England, and the United States being at peace with both.

The XIIth article provides, "that it shall be lawful for the Citizens of either party, (consequently for the citizens of the U. S.) to sail with their ships and merchandize (contraband goods excepted) from any port whatever, (therefore from a port of France or port of England) to any port of the enemy of the other," (therefore to a port of England the enemy of France, or to a port of France the enemy of England.)

Thus then the voyage from France to England is lawful, and the voyage from England to France is lawful. But again and more particularly, the article further provides, "that such ships (namely of American citizens) with their merchandize, may sail with perfect security, and liberty, from the ports of those who are enemies of both, or *either*, (consequently from the ports of England the enemy of France) without any opposition or disturbance whatsoever; and may pass not only directly from the ports aforesaid (to wit the ports of England) to neutral ports or places, (therefore to the ports of the United States which are neutral) but also from one place belonging to an enemy, to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be, *or be not*, under the jurisdiction of the same power;" consequently, an American ship having arrived in England, according to the first clause of this article, may, pursuant to the last clause thereof, sail without opposition or disturbance, not only directly from Bristol to London, enemy places *under* the jurisdiction of the same power; but also from London to Bordeaux, enemy places, *not under*, the jurisdiction of the same power; and thus the voyage directly from England to France is lawful—so that it stands demonstrated, according to the plain interpretation of the article, that the ships of the United States, with their merchandise, may not only sail and trade between the ports of the United States and those of England, but also directly between the ports of England and the ports of France.

To cut off all cavil respecting contraband, and blockade, and to provide against the future operations of a Decree of the French Directory similar to the Berlin Decree, let it be remembered, that this convention (made under the auspices of Chief Justice Ells-

worth, and Messrs. Davie and Murray), contains a definition of contraband, as agreed upon between the parties, and excludes blockades by *proclamation*, by confining them to the case of actual blockade, which cannot exist without the presence of a competent force before the port blockaded.

AN AMERICAN.

From the New York Evening Post, December 6, 1808.

CHAPTER VII.

King to Geo. Hammond—Anxiety about public Affairs—Introduces Col. Trumbull—King to Pickering—Alarming Rumors—Trumbull to King—French in Madrid—Prices of Articles in England—Pickering to King—British Orders were among Causes of the Embargo—Franklin said to be in French Interest in Peace Negotiations—King to Pickering—Answer that there was powerful French Influence in Peace Negotiations, both in U. S. and Europe—Jay by Opposition incurred the Displeasure of Vergennes—Thanks him for his Speech against Bill to enforce the Embargo—Pickering to King—Impressment in 1803—Jefferson determined not to make a Treaty with G. B.—Duane's Appointment—King to Pickering—Negotiations against Impressment of his own Motion—Felt confident he could have made a good Treaty—Administration did not second him—Gore to King—Affairs in Massachusetts—Pickering to King—Embargo to be removed 4th of March—Armstrong's Correspondence with Madison—King—Berlin and Milan Decrees and English Orders incorrect—Retaliation a Law of Peace.

R. King to George Hammond.

New York, Dec. 12, 1808.

Dear Sir:

Whether I have before acknowledged the receipt of your friendly letter, I am uncertain; if not, I now beg of you to accept my thanks for the same, as well as for the Parliamentary Papers and debates with which you so obligingly accompanied it. . . .

Not being of the political faith that is here at present in favour, I pass my time in the bosom of my family, thinking and saying as little as I can upon the subject of politicks. I cannot however withdraw my mind, were I to desire it, from the struggle which still continues to waste the Nations of Europe; for England's safety and welfare, my hopes and my confidence have never deserted me. Spain most unexpectedly is now your Rival, and

merits all the success to which her unequalled wrongs give her so just a title. But my fears are stronger than my hopes, and I should feel the most anxious solicitude for the safety of the brave patriots, who united in the direction and defence of their country, did I not behold a refuge, not alone such as will shield them from personal violence, but sufficient to enable them to defy the power of the tyrant.

Col. Trumbull, whom you will probably recollect, is the bearer of this letter; he is going with his wife to England and may there resume his profession. Having lived in friendship with this gentleman for a great many years, I can with confidence introduce him to you, as a gentleman of distinguished probity and honour. Going directly from hence, he is enabled to speak with knowledge concerning the course and condition of our affairs as connected with those of Europe.

I beg that you will do me the favour to present my compliments to Mr. Canning, Sir Wm. Scott, and Mr. Wilberforce, and to be assured of the constant Esteem & Regard, with which I am, Dr. Sir, your obt. & faithful Servt,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

NEW YORK, Jany. 5, 1809.

DEAR SIR:

. . . We daily receive alarming rumours, from the seat of Govt. which are intended to increase the public solicitude, and thereby to prepare us for the events which our Rulers seem resolved to bring about.

With sincere respect & regards,

RUFUS KING.

JNO. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

FALMOUTH, 8th Jany., 1809.

DEAR SIR:

We had the pleasure to land yesterday. . . The news from Spain is contradictory; it is generally understood here that the French are again in possession of Madrid after some severe partial struggles on their march and a vigorous opposition from

the people of the city. The British force commanded by Sir John Moore had not joined the Spanish army, or been in action, except some skirmishes of Cavalry, in which the British have had the advantage. It is said to be the intention to augment this army to 70,000 men: an expedition of 10,000 are expected to sail to-day from Portsmouth.

I am informed by Mr. Fox here, that the price *of Corn* has been falling for some weeks past, and not the least apprehension of scarcity is now entertained: since threshing commenced, the crop proves to have been much less damaged than was at one time apprehended. The quarten loaf (4lbs & 5oz) now sells at a shilling.

The price of Hemp is enormous, £170. the ton, but Government have large supplies in store; considerable quantities have found their way from Russia thro' the means of neutrals; & the India Company have contracted to furnish 1000 Tons, the arrival of part of which is soon expected. Tallow, (a Russian article) has been very high, but is falling rapidly in consequence of importations from Brazil. Cotton is also rather falling in value in consequence of some arrived & large quantities expected from Brazil & India. Pilchards of which immense quantities are annually caught on this coast, and usually sent to the Mediterranean, are now shipping for the West Indies. . . . faithfully

your friend & servant,

JNO. TRUMBULL.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Jany. 8, 1809.

DEAR SIR:

To-day I received your letter of the 5th. . . . A main object in my speech was to prove that the British Orders of Nov. 11th, were not among the causes of the embargo. Now to take an extract of a letter, dated Sept. 23d, from Mr. Canning to Mr. Pinkney & delivered together with Canning's letter of that date, which the President communicated to Congress the 8th of November, and is published in the pamphlet of documents which I sent you: but the single passage I am going to recite, you will see, must have deterred the President from laying it before Congress.

"The connecting together in your proposed overture, the suspension of the embargo & the repeal of the orders in Council—as well those of November, as the preceding one of the 7th of January—might appear to imply that the embargo had been the immediate consequence of these orders; and I was therefore desirous to ascertain whether, in fact, the order in Council of November had been known to the Government of the United States previous to the message of the President, proposing the embargo, so as to be a moving consideration to that message. I had the satisfaction to learn from you, Sir, that such was not the fact; that rumours indeed might have reached America of some measure of further retaliation being in the contemplation of the British Government, that perhaps (as I understood you) some more severe and sweeping measure might have been expected; but that of the orders of Council of the 11th of Nov. as having been actually issued, there was no certain knowledge in America, or at least none in possession of the American Government, at the time of the proposing the embargo."

At present no part of this extract should be published, or conversed about but with your confidential friends.

I requested some time ago information about the intrigues of Count Vergennes, when Mr. Jay was negotiating with Mr. Oswald on the terms of the Treaty of Peace. I wished particularly to know all the points which Vergennes endeavoured to persuade our ministers to relinquish. From my recollection, the burthen of the negotiation and all the merit of the Treaty rested on Mr. Jay: Dr. F. was in the French interest—at least disposed to be perfectly complaisant, and to obey his instructions literally; and Mr. Adams was at the Hague, tho' heartily concurring with Mr. Jay. I wish to receive the information you can give me.

yr. faithful & obed. Serv.

T. PICKERING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

NEW YORK, January 15, 1809.

DEAR SIR:

I expected sooner to have answered your enquiries respecting the conduct of France at the period of our negotiation for Peace with England, but I have been disappointed in my search for an

abstract of this negotiation which I drew up from the original documents many years ago. Having occasionally lent papers of this sort, and particularly to Col. Hamilton, I fear that I have lost this with others. I however send you (with the request that you will return it to me) an abstract of Mr. Jay's mission to Spain, together with a *précis* of so much of the negotiation at Paris as occurred before Mr. Adams joined the Commission. I likewise add the copy of a note of References to ministerial appointments and instructions by Congress, which may throw some light upon the subject of your enquiry. It remains upon my mind as matter of conviction derived from the contemporaneous suspicions and proceedings in Massachusetts, as well as from the Examinations that afterwards I had the opportunity of making, that, for several years before and after the conclusion of the revolutionary war, a powerful & controlling French influence existed in Congress: both here and in Europe, France employed various intrigues and manifested no small solicitude to prevent us from obtaining those advantages in a Treaty of Peace, which were material to our Prosperity & our Honour.

By reason of his sagacity and fidelity Mr. Jay incurred the displeasure of the French Court, which did not fail to show itself here afterwards through the French Ministers. The persevering endeavours of the French Minister of for. affairs, the Count de Vergennes, to engage Mr. Jay to consult and obey the instructions of Congress (equally known to him as to Mr. Jay) and to take no step in the negotiations with Mr. Oswald the Eng. Minr., unless in confidence and concert with France, were entirely fruitless; while the respectful deference of Doct. Franklin for the wisdom of Congress so much superior to his own, is understood to have opposed no obstacle to the views of the French Cabinet. Had Mr. Jay been equally pliable as Doct. Franklin, there is little doubt that a Treaty would have been concluded with Mr. Oswald, under the auspices of France and before Mr. Adams' arrival, which would have restored the Tories and their estates, which would have established the epoch of our Independence to be the date of the Treaty, instead of the date of the Declaration, which would have curtailed our Boundaries, given up the navigation of the Mississippi, and relinquished the Fisheries. The views of France at this period to keep us back, and

to check our growth, were afterwards openly confessed in the instructions of the Commee. of public safety to Genet, and other Documents have confirmed the fact.

Mons. Anquetil, of the French office for for. affairs, in his work called *Motifs de Guerres* dedicated to Talleyrand, and published in 1800, says that France in the period of 135 years, between the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 and the Treaty of Paris in 1783, was at war 70 years and at peace only 65 years. These 70 years are divided into eleven wars, to wit, 5 wars of family, 4 wars of ambition, pride, hatred and obstinacy, and 2 wars of commerce ; and in these two wars only was France as a nation interested. The seven years war which was commenced in 1755, and the American war which began in 1778. Of the first, speaking of the English, he says :

" Enfin ils se sont montrés ouvertement quand ils ont attaqués les Français en 1755 dans le Canada, et quoique le pretexte de l'aggression ait été une dispute de limites, il est certain que le vrai motif était le dessein d'abbatre et d' anéantir la marine Française, qui se relevait. Reciproquement ce n'est pas pour soustraire les Americains à la domination Anglaise que Louis XVI. s'est lié avec eux en 1778, ni pour les faire jouir des avantages de la liberté ; mais pour ôter a la marine Britannique la Ressource d'un continent entier bien garni de ports, dont les forces avaient été très utiles aux Anglais dans les dernières guerres contre les Français, et pour rentrer en possession des parties de Péche et de commerce qu'ils avaient envahis ; à quoi les Français n'ont pas réussi."

You will recollect that the Treaty with G. Britain was concluded contrary to the views & opinions of the French Court, who were desirous of our waiting until the conclusion of a general Peace ; and, if I recollect correctly, the dissatisfaction of France and her Partizans in this country was such, that Mr. Madison & others (Chancellor Livingston being the minister of for. affairs) meditated a censure upon our ministers for their disobedience to their instructions who enjoined an intimate & confidential co-operation with the French Cabinet. Congress were at this time at Princeton, and Col. Hamilton, a new member, avowed him-

self the Defender of the ministers. The éclat of the expected discussion and the great popularity of the Treaty are understood to have dissuaded the supporters of the instructions from bringing forward their motion of Censure.

I thank you for the pair of Speeches which you sent me to replace those I had given to Col. Trumbull, and, together with every impartial and honest man in the country, I am obliged to you and Mr. Hillhouse for the pains you have taken in making them and other excellent speeches to the Senate. I beg you to thank Mr. Hillhouse, in my behalf, for his useful and constitutional Speech in opposition to Mr. Giles' oppressive and tyrannical Bill to inforce the embargo. These measures may be borne for a time, but they cannot be of long duration. You will have seen the proceedings of a numerous meeting in this city ; these will be followed in other parts of our State. Whether the officers and dependants of administration here will call together their followers to approve of what Congress have done and are doing I know not, nor do I suppose it of much importance whether they do or do not. Perhaps it would in point of policy be our wish that they shd. approve. It is not however from our cities, but from the country that sound opinions are to be looked for.

It is difficult to determine upon a course of measures, or upon the fitness of promulgating and inforcing opinions, which deeply affect the public welfare, unless all the circumstances of the times and the occasion are before us ; we therefore cannot decide how far our friends at Washington have been influenced in their conduct by considerations with which we are not acquainted. I have myself thought that you might content yourselves with opposing such bad and dangerous measures as should be proposed ; but I am not now certain that the condition of our public affairs, and the crisis that cannot be remote, have not a claim upon you to point out the course which ought to be adopted. That course seems to me the repeal of the Embargo Laws, and the adoption of the measures that were pursued in 1798. I will not add to this long letter the arguments which in my judgment would justify this course, especially as the entire subject is within your recollection. Very truly, I remain, dear Sir,

Your obdt. & faithful Servt.,

RUFUS KING.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Washington, Jany. 21, 1809.

Dear Sir :

In Mr. Madison's letter to Monroe, dated Jany 5, 1804, at the 20th page, he speaks of your negotiation on the subject of impressment, so as to exclude the practice on the high seas ; but says that "at the moment when the articles were expected to be signed, an exception of the 'narrow seas' was urged and insisted on by Lord St. Vincent, and being utterly inadmissible on our part, the negotiation was abandoned." I suppose the negotiation was instituted under the instructions of Mr. Jefferson, and I suppose also that this exception was, as it has been since, *sine quâ non.* If without too much trouble you can give me a view of your negotiation, I shall be greatly obliged. In the page above quoted, Mr. Madison says, "Mr. King seems to be of opinion that with more time than was left him for the experiment, the objection might have been overcome."

I have long entertained the opinion that Mr. Jefferson determined, at the outset, not to form a treaty of unity and commerce with G. B., and therefore insisted on some terms which he believed she would never admit. If the impressment of seamen, except in British ports, had been given up, and if the coasting and colonial trade of her enemies were entirely surrendered to the U. S., so that the whole commerce of France & her dependences should be carried on by neutrals without molestation. Bonaparte might have been satisfied, and a treaty between the U. S. and G. B. to secure these benefits to France, consented to by the Emperor.

I remember that on my way home last May, you informed me that J. Q. Adams had called on you ; and in speaking of the acquittal of John Smith of Ohio, he ascribed it to Mr. Jefferson whom he supposed *to be in Smith's hands.* This undoubtedly was the fact. If you recollect any fact, stated by J. Q. A. as the ground of his opinion, I should be glad to know it.

Mr. Jefferson has committed himself to many people, who have been employed to do dirty work ; hence I presume Duane was made a Lieut.-Colonel. I suppose he *demanded* the appointment ; and D. now commands at Mud-Island Fort, where he can conveniently edit his paper. Freneau was appointed translator of

French for the Dept. of State by M. J. while F. was establishing the National Gazette, altho' F. did not understand the language. I remember George Taylor, (chief clerk) once showed me one folio page of Freneau's translation, corrected in full twenty places, I think in Jefferson's own handwriting. Taylor could translate well & and was recommended to Jefferson for that service by Mr. Jay. . . .

Very truly & respectfully yrs,

T. PICKERING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

January 31, 1809.

DEAR SIR:

The attempt to settle with England an article respecting the impressment of seamen, was made by me without any instruction from the President. As the war was about recommencing, I was anxious on this subject & therefore endeavoured to conclude an article that would have afforded us some security: had not the ministers been much engaged, & had not I myself been upon the wing, I do believe I should have succeeded.

The principal article was in these words, "No seamen or seafaring person shall be demanded or taken [beyond the limits of the narrow seas, or] upon the high seas and without the jurisdiction of the contracting parties out of any ship or vessel belonging to the Citizens or Subjects of one of the parties, by the private or public armed Ships or Men of War, belonging to, or in the service of, the other Party, and strict orders shall be given for the due observance of this engagement."; the words within the Brackets were proposed by Lord St. Vincent to be added after the article had been settled, and altho' his Lordship would have given them up, there was an objection to doing so, from another quarter and in consequence of which the business failed.

With regard to Mr. Jefferson's sincerity in seeking a good understanding with Eng., I will mention a fact, that has appeared to me of great significance. You will recollect the objections that were made in this Country, as well as in France, to Mr. Jay's Treaty, on account of its having been negotiated and concluded during a war between England and France.

Altho' we did not admit the validity of these objections in the

sense in which they were offered, there certainly is considerable weight in the observation that we never can expect to negotiate as favourable a Treaty with England when she is engaged in war, as when she is at Peace. The various interests that are advanced in England in time of war, by the unlimited exercise of belligerent rights over Neutrals, will be active to resist and defeat every attempt to restrain those rights. Hence the conclusion of the war, when the naval power is disorganized and laid up, is the true time to enter into negotiations concerning Maritime Regulations. Mr. Jay's Treaty, so far as concerned commercial & maritime Rules, was limited to a continuance of ten years from the date of the Preliminaries of Peace. Influenced by the foregoing considerations, I early intimated to the Administration the policy of attempting before the commencement of another war (which all prudent men foretold to be not remote) to negotiate and conclude a Treaty with England. I knew the character and disposition of the English Ministry (Addington's Admn.) to be favourable; besides the reputation of the U. S. was such as to obtain the popular favor in support of the Ministry, in case they formed a Treaty with the U. S., and I may *to you* add that I myself felt strong in my confidence, that I could put our Affairs upon a better footing than it had been in the power of Mr. Jay to place them in the untoward circumstances in which he found himself. The reply of our Administration taught me that no such overture was to proceed from the U. S.; in other words, if Eng. wished a renewal of the Treaty, she must say so. I understood and have not been disappointed in the views of our Executive; and as I did not choose to be the witness of what I foresaw would take place, I resigned my office and came home.

Had we seasonably and sincerely tried to renew the Treaty, we shd. have succeeded. I have believed that the same views & motives which prevented a renewal of the Treaty, have influenced every subsequent measure of our Administration relative to England. These Reflexions are however purely confidential.

I remain faithfully & always your obt. Servt.

R. K.

I have no leisure to rewrite and copy in time for the Post, and you will I hope excuse the erasions and interlineations.

Post Scriptum. The Embargo, as we are now told, is to give

way to war. If the project be to unite with France against England, the Union cannot be preserved. Has this been the real purpose from the beginning, or has the last news from Spain encouraged the Administration to be more open in their measures? perhaps the opposition in the East begins to excite serious alarm.

Spain may be overrun, and I have believed that such wd. be her miserable Fate, but the best and bravest of her sons will escape to S. America, and there, allied with England, defy the Tyrant.

According to the accounts from Spain, the cause of the Patriots will suffer severely from the scarcity of bread and other provisions. How base and how unfeeling is our conduct, in refusing to our people the faculty of supplying them? The Eng. orders are inapplicable, and nothing but the fear of France can prevent our carrying to Spain those supplies, the want of wh. may occasion the failure of the Patriot cause?

I omitted to say that no fact was mentioned in support of the opinion that Jefferson was in the power of Smith, the Ohio Senator. R. K.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Jan. 27, 1809.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

We ended the Session of our Legislature in Harmony & good Humour. Satisfactory Provisions for supporting the S. was made, by a handsome majority, composed of a due proportion of both Parties. Two or three Laws relative to the Sessions & the appointment of County Attornies, passed the first year of Mr. Sullivan's Admin. for the purpose of securing patronage to the Governor, were repealed. No officer has yet been displaced, & none will be, but for incompetency or mal-conduct. In making the requisite appointments, no question has ever been asked, what were the politics of the candidates, &, in many instances, I know the men appointed to be of different sentiments in politics. No office has been asked for one of the opposite party & refused, yet the Chronicle, in its malignant & lying spirit, complains that none but Federalists have been appointed to office, and among these one of the most rancorous temper, alluding probably to Col. Pickering, whose commission, as a Justice, was near expiring and

was renewed, when he was named asa Justice through the Commonwealth. Were Honestus & the Adams favoured with some respect for truth, a little reason and a belief that there might be men entitled to some credit besides themselves, we might indulge a hope of something like peace & quiet. But the insolence of these men & their intolerant Vanity will never cease to goad the Community, as they are goaded by their own passions. . . .

with ever affectionate Regard, I remain my dear Friend,

Sincerely yours C. GORE.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Feby. 2, 1809.

DEAR SIR:

You will learn that yesterday the House of R., in Commtee of the whole, negatived the motion of Nicholas to fill the blank in his resolution for the time of repealing the embargo with the 1st of June. Today they did fill it—with the 4th of March,—and the majority being 75 to about 26, I presume the resolution for repealing it on that day will finally prevail. Mr. Jefferson, however, is employing all his influence against an early repeal—or earlier than the 1st of June, by which time may be expected the answer of Bonaparte on that and ulterior measures. I cannot doubt of a secret Stipulation, or *understanding* (probably not known to Armstrong) for keeping on the Embargo, until other measures, as well or better suited to *his* views may be practicable. Without such an obligation, the failure of which might throw Bonaparte into a passion and cause an exposure of Jefferson, the obstinacy of the latter in maintaining a measure so hostile to the interests of the nation & which is daily diminishing his popularity, cannot be accounted for. From the mouth of a reputable gentleman, who was present and heard it, but whose name I am not at liberty to mention, Mr. Jefferson, last Summer, said he would rather the U. States should sink than that any alteration in his system should be made. I hope the prospect of an early repeal will not render the opposers of the embargo *remiss:* any relaxation in the determined opposition might encourage the devotees and enable Mr. J. to rally his troops.

In great haste faithfully yr

T. PICKERING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

NEW YORK, Feby. 7, 1809.

DEAR SIR :

I thank you for your letter of the 3rd, and am glad to see that the H. of R., by so large a majority, have agreed to an early day for the repeal of the Embargo ; altho' some among us still think that the Rulers are madly determined upon a war with England, and that this resolve, repealing the Embargo, will contain other matter, which may in its consequences involve us in war. I am rather disposed to consider the project of arming our merchant vessels as a mere something to cover the retreat from the Embargo System, from which the public voice has driven them.

If the Law be repealed, which forbids our merchants to arm their vessels, every one will be at liberty, as he ought to be, to arm or not to arm : but if Congress require them to arm, and authorize, or direct, their resistance of visit and search by the Belligerents—that, so far as I understand, is war. No merchant who arms his vessel and whose master is ordered to resist the belligerent visit and search, could obtain insurance under a war premium ; so that the trade would be but little relieved by a system which shd oblige the merchant to run this risque.

The Embargo must come off—it cannot be kept on. The plausible reasons heretofore assigned in its favor no longer operate. No man of sense believes them, and the continuance of this bad measure every day exposes the Govt. to suspicions, which no man that loves his country dare seriously to entertain. The Govt. must take off the Embargo ; and they are unable, and dare not, if they desire it, to substitute in its place a war with England. I must stop here to save the post.

R. K.

In several of the preceding letters reference has been made to the fact that the President had not communicated to the Senate the correspondence of Mr. Armstrong with the French Government and with the State Department, and that some of the leading Federalists, among others Mr. King, had urged upon Mr. Pickering to ask for it. This he had declined to do after consulting with his friends in Congress, from the

certainty, as they believed, that the Senate would not sustain the demand and that it would be better to wait. With the exception of a letter from Mr. Champagny, it was not sent to that body until Nov. 8, 1808, and it is here introduced for the purpose of showing that the opposition made to the acts of the administration by the Federalists, though not based on actual official information as to the influence of French counsels, was not factional, but the result of a firm conviction that the policy of the Government was dictated in what are called by Mr. Jefferson "conversations with the Emperor," which "it is not usual to bring before the public." Mr. Jefferson characterizes the seizure of our vessels by his privateers as "justifiable by no law, as piracy, the wrong we complain of." He permits the Emperor to insult the United States, but directs his minister to remonstrate against his acts in a "friendly manner." His eyes were closed to the efforts which England made, in a firm yet courteous way, to settle the questions with the United States, though she was unwilling to yield to demands involving the surrender of what she claimed as rights, which ended in bringing about a war as unnecessary as it was fruitless in moving her from her claims.

1807, August 15th.—"We had this morning an audience of the Emperor. . . . He came directly to me, and, after some questions merely personal, he adverted to the outrage committed by the Leopard on the Chesapeake. 'This,' said he, 'is abominable; they have pretended hitherto to visit merchantmen, and that they had a right to do so; but they, even they, have set up no such pretentions with respect to armed ships. They would now arrange it by giving up a right or usage, which never existed; but they will arrange it; they are afraid to go to war with your country.'"—Armstrong to Secy. of State, 2d Sess. 10th Congress (*Annals of Congress*, p. 1668).

1807, Nov. 24.—"The unjust pretensions of England will be kept up as long as those whose rights she violates are silent: and what Government has had more to complain of against her than the United States? All the difficulties which have given rise to

your reclamations, sir, would be removed with ease if the Government of the United States, after complaining in vain of the injustice and violence of England, took with the whole Continent the part of guarantying itself therefrom."—Champagny to Armstrong. *Ut supra*, p. 1667.

Jany. 15, 1808.—"In the situation in which England has placed the Continent, especially since her decrees of the 11th November, His Majesty has no doubt of a declaration of war against her by the United States, whatever transient sacrifices war may occasion: they will not believe it consistent either with their interest or dignity to acknowledge the monstrous principle and the anarchy which that Government wished to establish on the sea. . . . War exists, then, in fact, between England and the United States; and His Majesty considers it as declared from the day in which England published her decrees. In that persuasion, His Majesty, ready to consider the United States as associated with all the Powers who have to defend themselves against England, has not taken any definitive measures towards the American vessels, which may have been brought into our ports; he has ordered that they should remain sequestered until a decision may be had thereon, according to the disposition which shall have been expressed by the Government of the United States."—Champagny to Armstrong. *Ans. of Cong.*, 2d. Sess., 1809, p. 1669.

1808, Febry. 22.—"I have come at the knowledge of two facts, which I think sufficiently show the decided character of the Emperor's policy with regard to us. 1st. That in a Council of Administration held a few days past, when it was proposed to modify the operation of the decrees of November 1806 and December 1807 (though the proposition was supported by the whole weight of the Council) he became highly indignant, and declared that these decrees should suffer no change, and that the Americans should be compelled to take the positive character either of Allies or of enemies. . . . If I am right in supposing that the Emperor has definitively taken his ground, I cannot be wrong in concluding that you will immediately take yours."—Armstrong to Madison. *Ut supra*, p. 1673.

1808, May 2d.—Mr. Champagny's letter of 15th of January, "has, as you will see by the papers herewith sent, produced the sensations here which the spirit and style of it were calculated to

excite in minds alive to the interests and honor of the nation. To present to the United States the alternative of bending to the views of France her enemy or of incurring a confiscation of all property of their Citizens carried into the French prize courts, implied that they were susceptible of impressions by which no independent and honorable nation can be guided ; and to prejudge and pronounce for them the effect which the conduct of another nation ought to have on their councils & course of proceeding had the air at least of an assumed authority, not less irritating to the public feeling."—*Ut supra*, 1677.

Mr. Armstrong was directed to speak of the offensive tone of the despatch, but to leave way for friendly explanations.

1808, July 26.—"It would have given me the highest pleasure to have drawn from this Government such explanations on the general subject of our differences with them as would have met the friendly and equitable views of the United States; but I owe it, as well to you as to myself, to declare that every attempt for that purpose hitherto made has failed, and under circumstances which by no means indicate any change in their aspect for the better." —Armstrong to Madison. *Ut supra*, p. 1682.

In a subsequent letter, Aug. 30, he advises raising the embargo, unless France do the U. S. justice, and establish an armed commerce.

"Should she adhere to her wicked and foolish measures, we ought not to content ourselves with doing this; there is much, very much besides that we can do, and we ought not to omit doing all we can, because it is believed here that we can not do much, and even that we will not do what we have the power of doing."—*Ut supra*, p. 1684.

Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Robt. L. Livingston, Oct. 15, 1808 (*Jeff. Works*, V, 370), says:

"The explanation of his principles given by the French Emperor, in conversation, is correct as far as it goes. He does not wish us to go to war with England, knowing we have no ships to carry on the war. To submit to pay to England the tribute on our commerce which she demands by her order of Council, would

be to aid her in the war against him and would give him just grounds to declare war with us. He concludes, therefore, as every rational man must, that the embargo is the only remaining alternative. These are acknowledged principles and should circumstances arise which may offer advantage to our country in making them public, we shall avail ourselves of them. But as it is not usual nor agreeable to governments to bring their conversations before the public, I think it would be well to consider this on your part as confidential, leaving it to the government to retain or make it public, as the general good may require. Had the Emperor gone further, and said that he condemned our vessels going voluntarily into his ports in breach of his municipal laws we might have admitted it rigorously legal, though not friendly. But his condemnation of vessels taken on the high seas, by his privateers, and carried involuntarily into his ports, is justifiable by no law, is piracy, and this is the wrong we complain of against him."

Mr. Jefferson writes to Mr. Short, March 8, 1809, telling him of the Senate's rejection of him as Minister to Russia (*Works*, v., 456).

"Our embargo has worked hard. It has in fact federalized three of the New England States. Connecticut you know was so before. We have substituted for it a non-intercourse with France and England and their dependencies, and a trade with all other countries. It is probable the belligerents will take our vessels under their edicts, in which case we shall probably declare war against them."

The beginning of the following examination by Mr. King relative to the priority of the Treaties between the United States and England and France is missing, but is not essential to the understanding of its conclusions.

According to the limitations of the Treaties between the U. States and England & France, the former expired in May 1804, & the latter in August 1809.

As the Treaty with France was posterior in date to the Treaty with England, the latter possessed certain priorities & preferences in the American ports over the former. Had the English Treaty been renewed antecedent to its expiration, these priorities & pref-

erences would have been preserved ; but they expired with the Treaty, and were therefore acquired and possessed by France over England during the unexpired term of the Treaty : that too having expired in August, both Nations have since been in these respects upon a footing of equality.

In the Summer of 1806, the U. States having despatched Mr. Pinckney to England as a Special Minister, this Gentleman in conjunction with the Resident Minister, Mr. Monroe, was in the Autumn of that year, employed in negotiating a new Treaty with England. Bonaparte having seen with satisfaction the depredations on the American carrying trade practised by the British Cruizers, had supposed it would lead to a rupture between the two Countries, and when, instead of this result, he became acquainted with the progress of the negotiation between the U. States & England, he proclaimed by the Decree of Berlin the British Island in a state of Blockade, and interdicted the British Trade to all nations.

The Decree was issued in Nov. 1806, and being in violation of the Laws of war, gave to England & the nations, the Right to have adopted immediate measures of retaliation ; the Government of this Country, professing a course of moderation, notified the Neutral States, whose Commerce alone was affected by this Decree that England proposed to retaliate, in the expectation that thro' their representations & influence, this enormous Decree should be recalled, intimating to them at the same time that, in failure of such recall, England would find herself obliged to retaliate upon France.

Immediately before the signature of the Treaty concluded with England by Mess. Monroe & Pinckney, a notification to this effect was made to them by the British Ministers.

We must all recollect the Fate of this Treaty, which was suppressed and smothered by the President, and not only not ratified, but not even submitted to the consideration of the Senate. The Decree of Berlin was known to the American Government ; the notification of the provisional determination of the English Government to retaliate on France was also known to them : and what was their influence on the American Government, what their language & conduct ? Did they remonstrate against the Decree, & did they adopt eventual measures in vindication of our Rights if remon-

strance proved fruitless? or did they acquiesce in the Decree? Nay did they not do more than acquiesce, did they not justify the Decree, and was not the disgraceful weakness, or something worse, of Congress blazoned abroad in the shameful attempt to mislead the Country by representing the Berlin Decree as an innocent and mere municipal Law, which France was at liberty to establish and which of course violated the Rights of no other nation. I was born an American, I have passed the meridian of the life of man, and during my whole life have been the attentive and careful witness of every important transaction of independent America: altho' some events have occurred during the last 40 years which I could have earnestly wished might not have happened, never until I read these debates & heard the language of the administration, did I feel myself completely humbled, for I had not before seen reason to doubt the Integrity of my Country.

Who has forgotten the verbal distinctions, the sophistry, the false logic and the tricks and concealments which were employed on this occasion to mislead honest & confiding men, to hide truth, to gloss over dishonesty and ambition and to maintain power upon terms that integrity revolts at, honour rejects, and that liberty must pay for.

England saw thro' the whole, and finding that her Expectations of opposition to France were misplaced, had recourse to the exercise of that retaliation which the Law of nature confers upon every independent man & nation.

Retaliation a Law of Peace as well as War.

The display of scholastic learning, which this natural and just measure on the part of England, occasioned in this Country, was unworthy, of the age in which we live, and has served only to show that we have been governed by Pedants, not Statesmen. The Law of Nations is, in its nature and substance, a compact between the States, and the accession of each is upon the implied condition of the accession of all; every separate nation is engaged to observe this law towards others, upon the understood condition that they, in their turn, will observe it towards her. And as between independent nations there is no Tribunal for the hearing and decision of their disagreements and wrongs, each must necessarily be the judge of its rights and the avenger of its wrongs.

If therefore, in Peace or War one nation violates the Law of Nations to the detriment of another, the nation whose rights are so violated is, in respect to such nation, in its turn released from the observance of this law. It is upon these principles that the Law of retaliation is founded.

If a branch of international Law be violated by one nation to the injury of another, the injured nation is at liberty to disregard the same branch of the Law in the case of such nation, and this without regard to the Quantum of damage received or inflicted. The notion that the Law of retaliation is limited by the actual pecuniary damages received is altogether visionary. How is the honour of a nation to be valued in such estimating, and what is the pecuniary sum which is to compensate for its loss? When the Law of nations is violated by one State towards another, not only the interest and security of such state are impaired, but its honour is affected and wounded; and those men have a most defective sense of national reputation, who are alive concerning the property, but dead as respects the honour of their country. It is honour alone that can justify a war: money or property, whether it be thousands or millions, is never worth fighting for, except so far as the same may be identified with national honour.

The exact sum of damages therefore received by England from the Berlin Decree was no rule whereby to regulate her retaliation. The non-observance by England of the identical rule of Law, that had been violated by France, was the only manner of retaliating that violation, without at all considering whether such retaliation would create greater or less damage to France, than her violation had occasioned to England; another and an equally unfounded objection has been rendered against the retaliation of England, because it bore upon and proved disadvantageous to the commerce of the neutral states. I pass over, as utterly unworthy of attention, the question whether the neutral states did or did not acquiesce in the Berlin Decree; the right of retaliation can never depend upon the conduct of third parties.

If in the exercise of the right of vengeance against an enemy, a friend be injured, the avenger is not accountable according to the Law of nations, as practised for centuries. Neutral States may during war carry on their accustomed trade with the belligerent states, except in articles contraband of war and to places

actually blockaded. This right is of equal and sometimes of greater value to belligerent than to neutral States. If one of the belligerents disregarding the Law should interdict all trade between neutral states and its enemy, the rights of both would be injured, the Law of nations as respects both would be violated and each would be relieved from observing this rule of the Law of nations as respects the violator; as the injured neutral and belligerent are independent of each other each is the guardian of its own rights; the acquiescence of injured belligerent would no more impair the neutral's right of seeking redress, than that of the neutral would impair such right of the belligerent. The circumstance that this right on the part of the belligerent cannot be executed without affecting the interest of neutral and friendly states, does not, and ought not to, impair such right. It is but an inconvenience, a damage, incidental to the exercise of a perfect right, and not the violation of a right: all complaint should therefore be addressed to the doer of the first wrong, which not only denied to the neutral the enjoyment of a lawful right, in trading with his enemy, but exposed him to the loss of his trade with the wrong doer, should the injured belligerent resort to retaliation. It is against France, therefore that we should complain on account of the Decree of Berlin, and not against England whose orders were a retaliation upon France for that Decree. Each is free to prohibit all foreign Trade, and consequently to exclude from her ports the ships of all foreigners.

CHAPTER VIII.

Trumbull to King—French Victories in Spain—Rumors of Overtures from U. S.—King to Gore—Measures of Non-Intercourse with England and France—Will they change the Decision of England?—Gore to King—Remonstrance of Massachusetts against Acts of the Government—Troup to King—Charge of Toryism likely to affect the Election—Should not exclude from Candidacy—Trumbull to King—Spain and Portugal—Farmers Prosperous in England—King to Gore—Spain—Independence of Spanish Colonies—England may make Overtures to U. S.—New Congress will probably do Nothing to settle Questions—King to Gore—Losses by State Treasurers should be prevented—How this may be done—Election in New York yet unsettled—Probably influenced by Arrangements with England—Erskine's Letters—Trumbull to King—Repeal of Orders in Council—Baring to King—Hopeful of Peace—State of Politics in England—N. Pinkney to King—Maryland Bank Stock—Gore to King—Massachusetts' Affairs—Trumbull to King—Erskine's recall—Austria's Successes—Effect on Bonaparte's Career.

Jno. Trumbull to R. King.

London, 12th Febry, 1809.

Dear Sir:

. . . The late events in Spain have been calamitous but not dishonourable to this Country. By that want of combination which has so often proved fatal to the efforts of those opposed to France, the Spanish Army was defeated & Madrid occupied before the British troops had joined. Bonaparte appears then to have directed his entire force against the British. All was done by Genl. Moore, that skill, discipline, and courage could effect under such circumstances; and the retreat to Corunna and embarkation there, in the presence of a force far superior in numbers, have been conducted in a manner which

does the highest honor to the Commander & his troops. The action at Corunna was unexampled, and inspired the French with such respect, that no interruption was given to the embarkation afterwards, altho' the last arriving party remained on the ground 63 hours after the action.

The loss of troops in this unfortunate business has been much less than was dreaded ; it is said not to exceed 5000 in all. Poor Moore, whose name this retreat places in the rank of that of Moreau, fell unfortunately by almost the first cannon shot that was fired, and is most deservedly lamented.

The weather has been singularly boisterous for the last month, and we have had no correct information from Spain since the return of the army ; there are vague reports that the people of the South still hold out with some success, and it is said to be the intention of this Government to renew their efforts in their support. There is also a rumour of some conciliatory proposition from this Government to the U. S. being in contemplation, in case the Non-intercourse Acts should put France equally with England under the *Ban of the Empire.* How well founded this rumour is, I cannot say ; other affairs have almost banished it from conversation.

You will judge of the danger to which this country is exposed from the want of Corn by the following quotations from returns of the Corn Exchange :

Nov. 26th, 1808, Wheat, 75/ to 90/. Flour, 75 to 80/.
Feby 6, 1809, " 75 to 90/. " 75 to 85/.

Several cargoes of Cotton have arrived within these few days from America and some Tobacco, in defiance of the Gunboats. Hemp, Timber & Flaxseed are very dear. Shipments of British Manufactures are making at Liverpool for America almost equal in extent to what is done in common times.

27th Feby.—Numerous Cargoes of Cotton & Tobacco have lately arrived from the U. S. principally consigned to Baring & said to be owned by them. These arrivals have essentially affected the price of Cotton, which is now dull.

Accounts have been received from Spain of fresh successes obtained by the patriots before Saragossa and the conquest of that country seems to be neither complete nor certain.

The public attention here has been occupied for some weeks,

by charges of a scandalous nature against the Duke of York : in the course of the examinations, I see nothing to fix *upon him* the charge of corrupt conduct : but enough has appeared of scandalous and corrupt applications, made by many, who are called gentlemen, to a worthless woman to give them a very just title to the honour of attending their swindling patroness to Botany Bay.

It is said by those who pretend to be in the confidence of the Government of the U. S. (among whom Mr. Geo. Joy ranks high) that proposals will very soon be made on their part to this Country, which will be accepted here and lead to a friendly future intercourse, & probably to a war on our part against France : and I have been assured by the highest American Authority here, that such is believed to be the real wish of that Government. How true this is, you can judge better than I. I must be forgiven if I wish for the future confirmation of such unexpected intelligence. We understand also that the new Congress are to meet on the fourth Wednesday of May : by which day, the vessel expected with the dispatches which are to lead to these important events, is expected to return to America. I can only say that I wish these gentlemen may be correctly informed.

The *average price* of wheat in Mark Lane (the Coon market) for the week ending Feby 18th, 1809 is 92/ & ¼ a quarter, which is 2¼/ lower than the preceding week. Flour 84/4 a sack, which is one farthing on a sack higher than the preceding week. . . .

Sincerely yours,

JNO. TRUMBULL.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

NEW YORK, Feby 15, 1809.

DEAR SIR :

I this afternoon recd. your favour of the 13. I am fully aware of the scruples to wh. you allude, and myself am inclined to hesitate, shd. not the danger of war become imminent. On this subject our latest advices, dated the 12, from Washington state that the probability is in favour of the adoption of the following Plan.

The Law wh. authorized the Pr. to interdict our ports to the

Br. Navy expires with the present session of Congress ; it will not be revived. A Law is on its passage raising the Embargo on the 4th of Mar., except with regard to England and France, and their respective dependencies, with which all commercial intercourse is to be strictly forbidden : this Law is to contain a section repealing the former and partial non-importation Law, and a section forbidding the entry into our ports, after a certain and early day, of all English and French vessels, armed or unarmed, public or private, whenever England or France revoke their Decrees or Orders.

This Law, it is said, places England and France precisely in the same situation, and is taking a ground, that is supposed, will enable the admin. to renew their negotiation with England with a prospect of success.

The ulterior measures, which on Mr. Giles' suggestion, were approved by the Caucus, at the same time that this plan was agreed upon, will be brought forward in due time ; I mean the raising of 15 m. men, & opening a Loan for 10. Mills. of Dollars : these, however, are mere paper projects, intended either not to become Laws, or, if sanctioned by Congress, to be placed under the discretion of the President. It is likewise rumoured that it is not yet decided whether we are to have new missions, or employ the resident Ministers.

Now the important question is, whether this project will have any influence to change the decision that England has announced on the subject of her Orders. The only new suggestion to be made on our side is this. We have by this Law removed the objection wh. was made use of, that the non-importation Law and the Pr. Proclamation were partial measures. England is still excluded from our ports, and instead of a partial, a complete non-importation is decreed ; the non-exportation is, in its effects, the same as the Embargo. France receives the same Law.

The Eng. Admin'n have declared that they wd. not revoke their Orders till France had repealed her Decrees. Now no one believes that France will do this ; and the consequence seems to be (if no changes or reverses have occurred in England) that the Eng. Admin'n will be likely to adhere to their determination. If as is not unlikely Spain and Portugal are conquered, and if the British Army there be overwhelmed, the project may suc-

ceed, and this is its only chance ; and if it does, as the boys say, all Jerusalem cannot save us from a war with France. On the whole, if England be not depressed, most certainly if her courage be exalted by any fortunate turn of affairs, this overture will share the fate of those proceeding from the Embargo : it will be rejected, and we shall be vexed and harassed by the non-intercourse Law.

Yrs truly,

R. K.

C. Gore to R. King.

Boston, February 22, 1809.

My dear Friend :

After duly weighing the Circumstances of the times & the great Apprehensions of all the Petitioners that the Government intended a war with England and Alliance with France, it was decided to introduce Resolutions expressive of a distinct opinion on this subject. These were reported with the Remonstrance to Congress, and were intended to take Priority in the Discussion, but from a trifling Circumstance were postponed, or rather not offered by the Prest. of the Senate, until the Remonstrance was read, which passed & was forwarded on Monday Morning. This contains a strong opinion on this Subject & takes up the substance of the intended Resolutions. It was intended to bring forward the Resolutions immediately afterwards ; but on Reflection it is decided to delay them for a few days, that we may shape them more directly to suit the existing state of things, after the Non-intercourse Bill has passed, presuming that whatever the opinions of this State could effect on the Dispositions of Congress, relative to the Measures now under their consideration, will be attained by the Remonstrance which went in the mail of Monday Morning. We shall probably make an Address to the People of the Commonwealth & close our Sessions the next week. The wish of many has been to sit until the 11th March, but the Federalists are constantly returning home, either called by their own affairs, or from Fear of giving Discontent to their townsmen, by imposing the additional expence, which is incurred by so large a Representation. To avoid therefore the Probability of being only a

small majority, or possibly even a minority, we must ask for Recess sooner than we had intended. The people are becoming more generally convinced of the Folly & Wickedness of our Rulers. Yet the Leaders of the Democrats are exerting every power to obtain the semblance of support to the obnoxious Measures of Congress.

Yours truly C. G.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 4th April, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . As to the ensuing election I now have the pleasure of assuring you that our prospects are certainly promising and I think we shall succeed if we act with becoming unanimity, zeal and energy. In these essential qualities we mean not to be deficient here ; and it would be a source of extreme regret to us, if our friends in any quarter should be found to want them.

On the subject of unanimity permit me to remark, that we are alarmed with late reports from New York. We are told that our friends there are divided into two parties who have become, or are likely to become, open enemies to each other ; the one contending that persons liable to the charge of toryism, from having resided within the British lines, or from being descended from those who did so reside, ought to be excluded from the ticket about to be formed ; and the other contending that the exclusion of such persons will be illiberal, unjust and impolitic. If these reports be well founded, it would be highly gratifying to your friends here, if you would be kind enough to employ your weight and influence, and endeavour to heal the division and restore harmony. Animosity in a party is at all times a dangerous disease ; but at the present critical moment it might prove a mortal one to ours. The advocates of exclusion, besides incurring the imputation of illiberality and injustice, stand opposed by a long and uninterrupted course of practice. Soon after we regained possession of New York, we permitted the Tories to enlist under our banners ; and they have since manfully fought by our side in every important battle we have had with the democracy ; some of them in the character of officers, and others in those of common soldiers. And when monies have been

necessary to support our cause, many amongst them never scrupled to pay their quota of the general tax. Moreover we ought not to forget their zealous and useful services in our great contest for the constitution; which I presume was intended to have the effect of putting us all on an equal footing with regard to the rights and honors of citizenship. Why therefore should these our good friends be now branded with the odium of "British sensibility" and drummed out of our ranks? My soul revolts at the very idea of a measure so illiberal—so unjust—and indeed so excessively cruel! We never discovered to the best of my remembrance that the cry of toryism had the least influence in any of our elections in New York, and we often had on our tickets men denominated tories. In this list, I name our worthy friends Mr. Harison, Mr. Cornelius I. Bogert and Mr. Josiah O. Hoffman, and to their names we may add those of Mr. John Watts, Mr. John De Lancy and Mr. William Cock with several others. What would the generous heart of our ever to be lamented friend Hamilton induce him to say of this excluding project, if he were capable of participating with us in our present patriotic and noble struggle? But the mere mention of his name calls to my mind ideas and fills my breast with emotions, which prevent my enlarging & compels me to conclude with assuring you of the pure and exalted esteem, with which I am,

My dear Sir Your humble Servt. ROBT. TROUP.

JNO. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, 5th April, 1809.

DEAR SIR:

. . . In my last letters to you, I stated to you what I had heard from high authority here, of the proposed system of American politics, and what has been done corresponds so exactly with *his* information, that I presume he is to be considered as thoroughly acquainted with all the plans of those, whose darling *Embargo*, he terms "a measure of almost *supernatural* Wisdom." He must of course consider our countrymen in New England, as *natural* fools.

The affairs in Spain are by no means to be considered desperate. The French have made but little advance since the affair

of Saragossa ; on the contrary the patriots in the North have obtained some successes, small indeed in themselves, but of good omen. They, the French, have not yet possessed themselves of Portugal ; on the contrary, the Portuguese are collecting a respectable force, and the British Troops, now in that country, amount to 18,000 men ; and seven additional Regiments have just sailed from Cork for Lisbon. Sir Arthur Wellesley goes out in a few days to take the command and his force is to be made up to 30,000. If this force is wisely directed and ably commanded, it will prove of prodigious importance in the approaching state of things.

A war with Austria is become unavoidable and we expect every hour to hear of the commencement of hostilities. France of course will be occupied in a distant point, and the Spaniards and Portuguese will find a moment very favorable to their exertions.

The attention of this Country has been very much engrossed by the folly of the Duke of York. He has resigned ; and examinations are now going on in respect to other abuses. The price of Corn and Flour is gradually falling, Cotton is at /18 d. a pound ; Tobacco at /9 d. ; Flaxseed fallen from £20. to £5., and the Country generally in prosperity. . . . Farmers on old leases grow rich, and as leases fall in, the Rents are generally raised by the offers of the farmers themselves from 50 to 100 p. Ct. Thus the proprietor of the Soil becomes much richer than he was, and the farmer is of course satisfied.

The Result of our *Supernatural Wisdom* will be to satisfy, first the World and finally ourselves, that the importance of America in the scale of Nations has been very much overrated—and when our national vanity is a little lowered, we shall certainly be a more estimable people—thus things work together for good. . . .

I am faithfully your

JNO. TRUMBULL.

R. KING (PROBABLY) TO C. GORE.

NEW YORK, April 9, 1809.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

After being the object of jacobin abuse and hatred, it is a great consolation to me to believe that the good cause has succeeded,

and that your Election is certain. The Effect will be advantageous to your neighbours, and desponding men may once more be roused to exert themselves to save their Country. Should your Legislature be sound, I am encouraged to hope that the influence will be perceived in our Election which takes place towards the close of the month.

The Campaign in Spain has thus far proceeded as I have constantly believed it would do : except that the English army has been withdrawn without as great losses as I apprehended it would sustain. Perhaps a portion of this army may be re-embarked for Cadiz and Gibraltar : but the Peninsula must be conquered by Bonaparte ; our best hope is that the Chiefs with a portion of the People will escape and proceed to South America. Thus the failure in Europe will hasten the Epoch of the Independence of the Sp. Colonies. How blind must our Rulers have been to have remained until this day, unconvinced of, and unprepared for, this great event. The success of Bonaparte in Spain is matter of regret here, and everywhere else, among men who are anxious for the Independence of Nations. But what effect will these events have upon the misunderstandings between us and the two great European Powers? France, no one will suppose, is likely to lower her tone or change her Decree ; nor do I perceive any evidence of a disposition on the part of England, to recede from the ground she had taken. I do, notwithstanding, think that the repeal of the partial non-importation Law, the expiration of the Law, in virtue of which the Eng. Shps. of War were excluded from our ports and the late non-intercourse Law, which is alike applicable to France and England, and which equally excludes the public and private ship's of both, afford grounds for an overture on the part of England, which would very greatly embarrass our Govt. This state of things could not have been known in England at the date of our last news, indeed the Law itself had not then been passed. Still the news-papers say a Mr. Oakley is coming over and that the negotiation will be resumed. Whether this person be a Secretary of Legation, a messenger, or clothed with some public authority, we do not know : perhaps the Eng. Cabinet may desire to resume the negotiation, upon the belief, or supposition, that Mr. Madison will act with more impartiality than Mr. Jefferson—and perhaps the story of Mr. Oakley's coming has

no authority. But supposing the import of our last Law to be known in England, and that it is actually believed that the President will exercise the power of suspending the Law, in respect to either of the nations, which may recall their maritime Decrees or Orders, would it not be a wise step on the part of England, to offer to enter with us into a Convention, by which, in order to do away with existing and mutual embarrassments, and to re-establish the former friendship and harmonious intercourse between the two Countries, it should be agreed and stipulated that England shd. recall her orders in Council so far as concerns the U. S., and that the U. S. shd. repeal the Law closing their Ports against the public & private Ships of England and imposing a non-intercourse and Embargo, so far as respects England, and moreover stipulating that the Law shd. be continued in force against France, until she shall repeal the maritime Decrees? Should this overture be made, it would test the sincerity of our Professions—and could not fail in creating the most serious difficulties in the Cabinet. It would however fail to restore harmony, because its restoration wd. inevitably be productive of an immediate war with France—and notwithstanding the Pr. is by law authorized to replace things on their former footing on the repeal of the English orders, he would not dare to do so, because the dread of the influence of a French war upon the ruling Party, is stronger and more controling, than the fear of shame, or the love of reputation. I at present discern no honourable course by which we are likely to be extricated from the embarrassments into which the folly of our own Government has plunged the Country. The new Congress will enter into the disgraceful controversies of the old; and I am apprehensive that nothing can or will be done by them, to rescue the nation from the ruinous Condition of its Affairs.

[No signature.]

R. KING TO (PROBABLY) C. GORE.

April 27, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR:

Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland & New York, according to my recollection, have suffered considerable losses by the infidelity of their respective Treasurers. These losses had become so fre-

quent before the revolution, that, in forming the State Constitution, most of the States appear to have supposed that the fidelity of the Treasurers wd. be secured by assigning their appointment to the Legislatures instead of the Executives. The Result has shown that this remedy has proved entirely defective.

Should you think of the establishment of a check upon your Treasury, I shd. think it might be done by the establishment of a Comptroller: the regulations concerning whose office shd. operate as checks upon the Treasurer: for example all a/cts. shd. be settled and registered by the Comptroller before payment; all monies received or paid by the Treasurer shd. be subject to the control of the Comptroller; in other words, that no receipt of the Treasurer for money paid into the Treasury shd. be good unless presented to & registered in the office of the Comptroller—and that no money shd. be paid by the Treasurer unless the order for such payment was registered and signed by the Comptroller. The money shd. be kept in some one of the Banks, where the a/c shd. be kept with the Treasurer, and no money shd. be drawn except upon the Treasurers check, countersigned by the Comptroller: duplicate Bank books might be furnished, one to the Treasurer the other to the Comptroller. As it seems to me there would be no difficulty in devising a system, by which not only a particular account with each of the Debtors & Creditors of the State shd. be kept in the Comptroller's office, but moreover an exact account with the Treasurer, which would at all times precisely exhibit the balance of his account. The Plan of the Treasury Department of the U. S. would suggest every material idea, and you would find it expedient, as they have done, to render the Comptroller's office the principal one and the Treasurer's a subordinate office.

This day terminates our State Election of members of the Legislature; what will be its issue is of course uncertain. Our friends as usual are zealous, and not without some confidence of greater success than heretofore. The arrangement lately made with England has probably had some influence; it certainly has given confidence and animation to the supporters of the Administration. The correspondence was composed so as to produce this effect, and was sent off from Washington by Expresses in every direction where Elections were about to take place. I rejoice that the misunderstanding between us & Eng. is so far re-

moved ; it is of all importance that we avoid a rupture with that Nation ; and it will conduce to our mutual welfare that the persons who direct our affairs, rather than their opponents, shd. settle with England. This they probably now will do, for I mistake the character and views of Bonaparte if he do not declare war agt. the U. S.

What is now done might have been done in the beginning, and all we have suffered in Reputation & Property might have been saved. In Erskine's second letter, in the concluding Paragraph, you will perceive that an agreement of some sort has been settled provisionally respecting the resistance of the French Decrees. We now engage to resist France, wh. had it been seasonably done, wd. have been both honourable and profitable, but better late than never. The Party will lose the claim of British Influence, British Gold and British Tories : this is much gained, and this gain we here ascribe to the Minority in Congress, supported by the Eastern States. yrs. R. K.

JNO. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, 30th April, 1809.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The conduct of the Senate, in negativing the mission to Russia and confirming that to Brazil, appears to me to be important, as indicating a disposition in that Body, to think for themselves in future, & no longer blindly to sanction every proposal of the Executive : if this disposition continues, it will produce very salutary effects.

The Pacifick returns immediately with the good news that the offensive Orders in Council have been revoked by the Government of this Country, by a new order of the 26th instant ; the enclosed paper will give you the outline of the new measure as communicated to the merchants and I hope to send you the Gazette of last night, which I presume contains the Orders at large. I trust the Non-Intercourse Law must be repealed, so far as affects this country, altho' the *Imperialists* will probably find a new ground of dissatisfaction in the Blockade of Gallatin's independent Nations, Holland & Italy : in truth, so far as I can comprehend the measure, Mr. Canning seems to have given us a

Rowland for our Oliver : Our non-intercourse is little more than the Embargo under a new name, & the absolute Blockade of France, Holland & Italy varies the state of things not much from that under the orders in Council. If, however, the mutual Sensibilities of the two Nations (as Mr. Jefferson would say) require that a mutual retrocession should be accomplished in masquerade, I am content—so they will but unshackle the Nation.

How the Emperor will act upon this occasion, I cannot conjecture. He would doubtless give a new name to his measures also, if he could to any purpose ; but unluckily for him, these Blockaded British Islanders are restive and will sometimes burn his blockading Squadron in his own Harbors : the reciprocity in this case is entirely against him.

Austria has commenced Hostilities and the Force of France will be so engaged on that side as to give breathing time to the Spaniards and Portuguese. The last accounts from that quarter confirm our hopes that success will ultimately crown their efforts. We are in hourly expectation of great news from the Archduke and from Sir. A. Wellesley.

What sort of negotiation is going on, and with what prospect of success between the *Supernatural* Wisdom of the U. S. and the mere worldly knowledge of this Country, I have no means of knowing : in the only conversation with which I have been honored by the former, it was admitted to be doubtful whether a Treaty would now be concluded so advantageous to the U. S. as that which Mr. Jefferson returned with scorn—and conceded to be certain that terms so favorable as those obtained by Mr. Jay, particularly on the subject of the Trade with India, cannot now be hoped for. . . .

your obliged & faithful Servant J. TRUMBULL.

SR. FRANCIS BARING TO R. KING.

LONDON, 2d May, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR :

The vessel that carries this letter returns most undoubtedly on a most specific errand : private individuals would wish for somewhat more of real cordiality, but a statesman, I fear, is persuaded that it never *really* exists. The assurance contained in your let-

ters that the continuation of peace may be relied on, on your side, was most important information ; I believe you may entertain the same confidence on our side, with regard to the sober minded part of the nation, & even those in high ranks in ostensible situations. But the farceurs & intriguants have always too much to say, & in truth generally rule ; for, as it must be admitted, that America, Spain, &c., are not *close* to St. Stephen's Chapel, therefore such uninteresting subjects are delegated to Clerks, Secretarys, &c. This is, as it ever has been, the true state of the case, and as it ever will be, in Governments capable of asserting & maintaining their independence, in proportion to the extent of the democratic principle that mixes in the Governments.

I reply to your other questions, as they may be interesting from the knowledge you actually possess of men and things here. But I am sorry to have nothing to offer that is either distinct or correct. The broad intelligible distinctions which have prevailed since the Revolution (K. G. William's) are scarcely perceptible. The distinguishing lead and power is undoubtedly the "great friends" ; the system of divide et impera, which has been pursued without intermission through the present reign, has been compleated, for what relates to the "divide," but it is accompanied with confusion & even imbecillity, destitute of talent or anything to help it, but the most decided support it receives and the unpopularity of those who contend against it, & which they cannot surmount. You will easily understand what I mean by the following classes,

Liverpool	Canning	Grey	Sidmouth	The Grenvilles, a corps apart.
Eldon	Melville	Holland	Ellenborough	
Percival	*Castlereagh	Petty	St Vincent	The Wellesley do
*Chatham	*Chatham	Tierney		Windham } noun
*Castlereagh				Whitbread } substantive

Those marked * may be classed with the "great friends," and likewise with the relicts of Pitt. The last is become a powerful, daring speaker, and must be a great feature in the country, but he is not a practicable man, his manners & temper are coarse, & his principles are violent : he aims at leading, & if he possessed temper & practicability, it could not be refused to him ; his character, however, appears to be so distinctly formed, that I am persuaded the aristocracy will never submit to him, indeed they

would want judgment if they did. The union that would please, is Canning & Petty with a sufficient portion of the first class, or their principles, but it is difficult, almost impossible to be effected. There is great dissatisfaction with an avowed contempt for the leaders on both sides. The orders in Council are no more—peace to their manes !, as Lord Grenville justly observed. The Wiseacres however must regulate &—what is worse, being the true cause of the whole—the Clerks must have their fees ; otherwise the folly of a blockade, such as proposed, is not much short of the other, but the sting is drawn & therefore I am content ; for a short period of peace and tranquillity is better than none.

yr. Most truly faithful &c.

(Letter endorsed by R. K., Sr. Fr. Baring).

NINIAN PINKNEY TO R. KING.

ANNAPOLIS, June 1, 1809.

DEAR SIR :

I have taken the liberty to ask that you will have the goodness to inform me with as little delay as possible, the date of Governor Mercer's letter to you of the — of July 1803, in answer to the very able and comprehensive Communication which you made to him respecting the Maryland Bank Stock, and thanking you for your zealous and unremitting exertions to promote the interests of the State on that subject when you were Minister at the Court of St. James.

The reason that I am under the necessity of requiring this information, arises from Mr. Mercer's neglect to date the original draught and which I did not discover until some months afterwards, when I was recording it. My memory would lead me to say, that it was dated on the fifth or sixth of July, but as I am now making out a Record of all the Papers and letters relative to the subject of the Bank Stock, for the purpose of being used as Evidence in the Courts of Justice of this State, in a suit which Mr. Chase has lately instituted against the State for the recovery of his Commission of four per Cent, on the five p. Cents Navy Annuities, and the Cash that remained in the Bank uninvested when my Brother received the Transfer from the Accountant

General by order of the King, and which, for certain reasons, he omitted to assign over to Mr. Chase. These circumstances render something more than *memory* necessary. The amount of Stock that was transferred by my Brother to Mr. C., was four per Cent Bank Stock, on one hundred thousand pounds, which the State conceived was as much, if not more than he was legally and justly entitled to ; as he ought, in its opinion, to have borne his proportionable share of the sacrifice made to Mr. Harford as well as of the sum that was paid to the Executors of Mr. Hanbury.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect Resp't & Esteem your obedient Servant,

NINIAN PINKNEY.

Endorsed by R. K. "Ans'd inclosing copy of Gov. Mercer's Letter."

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, June 2, 1809.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

We ended the Session of our Legislature in Harmony & good Humour. Two or three Laws relative to the Sessions & the appointment of County Attornies, passed the first year of Mr. Sullivan's admin. for the purpose of securing patronage to the Governor, were repealed. No officer has yet been displaced, & none will be, but for incompetency or mal-conduct. In making the requisite appointments, no question has ever been asked what were the politics of the candidate, and in many instances, I know the men appointed to be of different Sentiments in politics. No office has been asked for one of the opposite party & been refused, yet the Chronicle, in its malignant & lying spirit complains that none but Federalists have been appointed to office, & among them one of a most rancorous temper, alluding probably to Col. Pickering, whose Commission as a Justice was near expiring & was renewed when he was named as a Justice through the Commonwealth. Were Honestus & the Adams favoured with some respect for truth, a little reason and a belief that there might be men entitled to some credit besides themselves, we might indulge a hope of something like peace & quiet. But the virulence of

these men & their intolerant Vanity will never cease to goad the Community, as they are goaded by their own passions. . . .

Yours &c.

C. Gore.

Jno. Trumbull to R. King.

London, 12 June, 1809.

Dear Sir :

. . . If we were most agreeably surprized to find the work of reconciliation had advanced so rapidly on your side of the water, you will probably be equally surprized, tho' not so pleasantly, to learn that the conduct of Mr. Erskine on this occasion meets the disapprobation of Ministers here to such a degree, as to be the occasion of his recall, and of the appointment of *Mr. Jackson* to be his Successor. I have not been able to learn anything further upon this subject, than what has appeared in the newspapers. . . . You will there find Mr. Erskine's instructions as well as what has been said upon the Subject in the Parliament & done by meetings of merchants in the City—as well as a new order in Council drawn in consequence of these circumstances.

It is very satisfactory to know that the Session of Congress must be over before this intelligence can reach your side of the water ; and thus time will elapse before the December Session, for the warmth which may arise at first to evaporate. We shall in that time recollect that in refusing their approbation on this occasion, the British Government do no more than follow the example we set in the rejection of the Treaty negotiated by Messrs Monroe & Pinkney. In the meantime events have occurred which by their vast magnitude sink us and our concerns into a very diminished degree of importance. You will see by these papers that Buonaparte fulfilled his threat of marching to Vienna in a month from the commencement of hostilities. Austria had made gigantic efforts ; in Italy she had gained important advantages ; & in Saxony and Poland she was equally successful ; when the overthrow she met in Bavaria rendered it necessary to slacken her efforts and give ground on both these points : in all quarters, however, the contests have been unusually obstinate and his suc-

cesses cost Buonaparte so dear as to render a considerable repose necessary in Vienna. On the 20th of May he crossed the Danube on bridges constructed a little below Vienna; and on the 21st and 22d he was attacked on the North Shore by the Archduke Charles, and after one of the most obstinate conflicts that has ever taken place, was obliged in the night of the 22d to fall back and seek shelter on the Island Lobau, in the Danube, from whence it appears by one of his own Bulletins, he afterwards withdrew his Wounded and *his Caissons* to the South or Vienna Shore of the River.

The Conduct of the Arch Duke, as well as his bravery, on this occasion merits the highest praise: during the action he sent *five boats* down the river, by means of which he destroyed the principal bridge, communicating from the South Bank of the River to the first Island, (there are two Islands and of course three bridges) and thus the invincible Emperor was for the day irretrievably separated from his Reserve & his ammunition. It is evident from his bulletin, that his loss must have been very severe.

The severest Loss is however in the disgrace of a repulse: the talisman, which was inscribed Invincible, is broken—the spell which bound the minds of mankind in terror is dissolved, and the *Omnipotent* Emperor (as his Minion Sebastiani calls him) has sunk into a mere man subject to reverses even as we are.

This event, tho' of immense importance, is not to be regarded, however, as concluding the fate of the campaign. Russia is understood to be advancing with a large force from the side of Poland; yet hopes are entertained that, as no hostilities have yet taken place, the news of this reverse in the affairs of her new friend, may induce a change of policy. The Italian army has also followed the Austrians in their retreat to Carinthia and other desperate efforts must soon be made before the success of either party can be complete.

In the mean time the French have been completely driven out of Portugal, and the British force in that quarter is now at liberty to combine its efforts with the Spaniards; and one almost certain consequence of the Battle of the Danube, is the relief of that unfortunate country at least for some time. All the resources of France will be required in Germany; and the force now re-

maining in Spain, diminished as it has been by sickness & repeated partial misfortunes, damped as their ardour & confidence must also be, is by no means equal to the task of retaining the hold which they had gained in that unfortunate country ; in short there appears more ground to hope that this scourge of mankind approaches the close of his triumphant career at this moment, than we have before known.

June 15th.— . . . In confirmation of other reports to a similar effect, *I know*, that a letter has been received within 24 hours by a noble Marquis here from a banking house in Holland, in which it is stated—Le Bruit court içi—that on the 28th May, the Archduke again attacked the French and *completely defeated them ;* it is a circumstance of some weight, that the Marquis of H. received from the same house the first acts. of the Battles of the 21st & 22nd. And it is natural to expect that the Archduke should make a desperate effort before Buonaparte would be joined by his Italian army, whose near approach he announces on the 27th. J. T.

CHAPTER IX.

Mason to King—Columbia College—Trumbull to King—Expedition to Spain, from England—His Eyes give him Trouble—Hobart to King—Trinity Church's Gratuities—Wilberforce to King—African Institution—Slave Trade must be abolished—Proposition to effect this—Asks King's Assistance—Gore to King—People will object to British Instructions—Will act prudently—King to Gore—Family Matters—Jackson's Mission—Erskine's last Instruction inadmissible—King to Gore—Possible Treaty with France—Sir W. Scott to King—Depressing Views of Affairs in England, single-handed as she is—Trumbull to King—Battle of Talavera—Trumbull to King—Change of Administration—Ingersoll to King—Believes Madison's Policy will be more manly—Pennsylvania's Affairs—Snyder and Leib—Baring to King—Struggle for individual Existence—Change of Ministry—Gore to King—Dissatisfaction with Acts of Government serious—Trumbull to King—No Treaty with France—Austria & France have made a Treaty—Pickering to King—Jackson's Mission—King's Objections to him—King to Pickering—Reasons for objecting to him—W. India Trade—Gore to King—Critical Condition of Affairs.

Doct. Mason to R. King.

New York, June 23, 1809.

My dear Sir:

A meeting of the Trustees (of Columbia College) was held yesterday. I knew nothing of the call of the board till after it was advertised, and then heard of it only by accident. I have supposed you were much in the same situation. This awkward management took our Committee by surprize; and as our *report* was the principal business to have been considered, the members of the board were obliged to separate pretty much as they came together. One of our ecclesiastical courts having opened eight days before, and continued in Session with great pressure of business, till one half day before the meeting of the Trustees, it was impossible to assemble the committee. . . . Another meeting of the board is ordered for Friday, the 14th, and our committee is

to meet on Wednesday, the 12th, at my house at 12 o'clock. In the mean time I send for your consideration the *bull* issued against the sinners of the committee from the College-Vatican. I hope that you may at least escape absolute annihilation by their amazing thunders. I send also a bit of paper which I scrawled yesterday morning toward a *germ* of a report. If you think there is too much *pepper in the pot*, make any reduction which shall appear proper. I would thank you to give any hints of subjects that ought to be touched; to draw your pen through any that had better be out; and most of all to frame a report yourself. I should be glad to see you the day before meeting the committee, that is Tuesday, the 11th of July. If you can make it convenient &c &c. . . .

With highest respect

Yr. most ob. & obligd.

J. M. Mason.

Col. Trumbull to R. King.

London, July 6th, 1809.

Dear Sir:

. . . I enclose the News-papers of this day, by which you will learn that there has not been any further action between the great armies on the Danube since the battle of the 21st & 22d of May. The surrounding country is generally in a state of insurrection against the French, whose communications and supplies are rendered very unsafe by that means; a few days must produce other great events in that quarter, for a protracted war will be fatal to Buonaparte & he must make an effort to disengage himself.

The Spaniards are busily and successfully profiting by the occupation of the Emperor at Vienna: in several partial actions they have been successful and their enemies are everywhere retiring, or in their language concentrating themselves. An Expedition is equipping here with great diligence of 20 Sail of the Line and 40,000 men—to Sail in a few days—probably for the North of Germany.

Mr. Jackson took leave of his Majesty at the last levee, previous to his departure to the United States. . . .

Your faithful Servant

Jno. Trumbull.

REV. J. H. HOBART TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, July 12, 1809.

DR. SIR :

You will allow me to express the solicitude which I feel in common I know with some of the rest of the Clergy of Trinity Church for your presence at the next meeting of the Vestry on Thursday next, when the subject of our gratuity, wh. has generally been granted in the month of June is to be taken up, as we have been informed. The permanent Salary of the Asst. Ministers is 500 £ pr. an. To this an addition was made a few years ago of 200 £ for 7 years ; and last year our gratuity was raised from 200£ to 300£. Until this year or two past I have spent more than I have recd. from the Chh. ; and even on an establishment of 1000. £ pr. an., I do not conceive it would be in my power to lay up any sum worth the mentioning. Some of the Presbyterian Clergy receive 1000 £ pr. an. and a house ; and the establishment of the Rector of Grace Church including the parsonage, will amount at the least to 1300 £ pr. an. Upon these establishments it would not be in the power of the Clergy, even at the termination of the usual period of life, to save more than would constitute a decent competency for their families. A full assurance of the just and liberal views which you entertain on this subject prompts the solicitude for your attendance at the next meeting of the Vestry ; and ever indulging me as you have done in free and frank communication with you, I am sure you will require no apology for the present address to you.

I am very respectfully & Sincerely, yr. most ob. Srvt.

J. H. HOBART

WM. WILBERFORCE TO R. KING.

EAST BOURNE, Aug. 1, 1809.

Private.

MY DEAR SIR :

I am glad of any decent Pretext for addressing you, as I thereby am furnished with an opportunity of assuring you of the cordial Esteem & Regard which I continue, & I trust, shall never cease, to entertain for you. So lively indeed are these Emotions, that I am naturally prompted in the first Instance to give you this

assurance & to express my hopes that you & your family are well & happy. After this Salutation, I proceed to ye. main Object of this Letter, which is to inform you of the formation of a Society, the very name of which, the African Institution, will sufficiently indicate its Nature & Objects, the Civilization & Improvement of Africa. The Duke of Gloucester, of whom it is no more than Justice requires to say that his Character & Conduct are such as become his Elevated Station, is our Patron & he attends all our Committee, as well as general Meetings, & takes an active Share in all ye. Business transacted at them. We have sevl. other respectable members, men whom you know personally as well as by Character, & are likely, I trust, to do some Good. It is obvious, however, to any one who is ever so little acquainted with the Subject, much more to one who knows it is as well as yourself, that all our Hopes of extending Civilization in Africa, must be frustrated unless the Natives are incited to Industry by being no otherwise able to obtain their accustomed Comforts & Gratifications ; all therefore depends on stopping the Slave Trade. To you, I need not State in detail, how, owing to ye. war our fears of its being carried on along ye. whole coast of North Africa, are confined to our own Countrymen & yours. Of our own, we are *taking all public care*, by prevailing on Govt. to send a Ship of War occasionally to scour the Coast, & seize all offending Vessels. But, both from Reflection & actual Experience, we entertain great dread of ye. Slave Trade operations of Citizens of ye. United States. Even your abolition Law, if we are rightly informed, is so far defective, unlike in this respect to ours, that it does not prohibit Vessels under foreign flags, or being ostensibly foreign Property, fitting out or sailing from your ports. May we not hope that this defect will be supplied speedily ? But supposing the Law complete, how is it to be enforced ? I fear there is but one effective Expedient ; that would be, for the 2 nations to agree, that the Cruizers of each, should be at liberty, or rather should be instigated by the prospect of obtaining the value of ye. forfeiture, or condemnation in the proper Court. Surely if yr. Legislature be earnestly set on executing the Law which it has passed for abolishing the Slave Trade, it will consent, as I trust ours would consent also, to agree to this, which I fear, is the only method by which it can be carried into Effect. May I hope

that we may have the Benefit of your Influence towards disposing your Legislative & Executive to accede to such an arrangement? whatever may be the temporary & accidental effects of those party Incidents which are common to free Constitutions, the Aid of a man of your natural Weight (for Weight must ever result from Talents & Character combined) must be an important Acquisition to any Cause which it is wished to carry into Effect.

I will detain you, My dear Sir, no longer—tho' it is with difficulty that I abstain from touching on those Topics of public Interest, which must naturally be uppermost in my mind. Your own, howr. will suggest all that I should state if I were to express my Sentiments, for when we know another, with his principles & his feelings, we can anticipate their result. Let me, howr. mention, before I lay down my pen what I trust will not be uninteresting to you, that I am living during the Recess from Parliamt., in Health & Comfort with Mrs. W. & my children about me.

Permit me to beg you to present my best Respects to Mrs. King, & to assure you once more that I am with Cordial Esteem & Regard, My dear Sir,

Your faithful Servant,
W. WILBERFORCE.

P. S. I will take the Liberty of transmitting a copy of ye. Reports of our African Institution. The perusal of them, if I mistake not, will interest you.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Aug. 3, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR:

Owing to the indecision of Mrs. King, concerning her visit to Ball's Town, I was unable to reply to your letter in season to have reached you, before you left Boston; and afterwards I could not tell where to address you. We have heard that you have been at the Springs, and conclude that you will have returned home by the time this letter reaches Boston.

After a sufficient portion of hesitation, Mrs. King relinquishes her projected visit to Ball's Town; she could have gone if I had consented to go likewise; My Habits are such, that in consent-

ing that she & John should make the Excursion, it seemed to me that I had agreed to a great deal, and that more should not have been expected of me. John is going in a few Days, but Mrs. King has wholly abandoned the journey for this season.

Our family is well; we have had a cool, and almost an English Summer. At present, however, the weather is dry & the roads very dusty. Not having been in New York for several weeks, I know but little of the public opinions respecting the failure of the arrangement with England, except what I learn from the newspapers.

The Instructions being published, it is manifest that the arrangement is not authorized by them. What will be the issue of Mr. Jackson's Mission, it is not easy to predict. Foreign events may have no inconsiderable influence on it. If our Administn. saw Mr. Erskine's Instructions, they must, as I think, be embarrassed extremely by the present posture of the negotiation.

The first condition of the Instruction is well enough; the second has nothing to do with the principal subject of Negotiation, and the third is, in my mind, absolutely inadmissible, so long as we remain out of the war. Perhaps our friends, near you, may differ from me in these opinions: tho' I respect theirs, I cannot relinquish my own. I would do nothing, nay I wd. claim nothing, that England may fairly complain of, or justly deny. On the other hand, her interest and reputation, as well as ours, forbid that we should concede more.

The War on the Continent is too complicated for me, without more information to form a correct opinion respecting it. My hopes in favour of the good cause are not absolutely extinguished, tho' my apprehensions preponderate. . . .

Always yrs. R. K.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, L. I., Aug. 6, 1809.

My dear Friend:

Hearing of an opportunity of tomorrow by the way of Newport, I avail myself of it to send you the following Extract of a Letter from our old friend D. P. dated Paris July 1st 1809.

"I have good Reasons *to believe* that all differences between

this Country and the U. S. will soon be settled, and that a Treaty will be made in a short time, that will be acceptable to the U. S. I have no doubt but that before the existing convention expires, a Treaty will be signed—" ! ! !

Erskine's arrangement was in the last of Apl. ; it was disavowed in Parliament towards the latter end of May. This disavowal could have reached the Danube, and Instructions been remitted to Paris before the end of June ; it would not disappoint me shd. we very shortly receive a new Treaty from Paris.

RUFUS KING.

P. S.—Show this to Cabot : but the person whose initials are named, *must not be mentioned*—pray observe this caution.

SIR WM. SCOTT TO R. KING.

RAMSGATE, Aug. 12th, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR :

I avail myself of the very short interval which Mr. McVicers occasions will allow me, to remind you of a friend on this side of the Atlantick, and to send you my best Wishes for the Welfare of yourself and family.

I wish this part of the globe afforded any news that could be agreeable to me to relate or to you to hear. But everything is dark & desperate in the extreme, at least they are so to men of my opinions here, and I am confident that you have not parted with your former Sympathies for the Liberty of Europe—and indeed of Mankind in general, though I fear such Sympathies are not over fashionable in your Country. Whether we shall have a peace or not, is uncertain ; if we have it, our danger is increased ; all Experience has shown it with other European Countries and even with our own ; at present Ministers seem determined to have it *at all events ;* Mr. Fox, who is supposed to be very near his own dissolution, strains every nerve to obtain it, and what is more surprising, Lord Grenville is equally ardent for it. All depends upon the Sovereign Will and Pleasure of Buonaparte ; it is supposed at present that his gigantick Plans of Ambition extend to a Partition of the Ottoman Empire between Himself and the Emperor of Russia ; and to an annexation of three Pyrenean Provinces of Spain to France, for which Spain is

to be indemnified by the Possession of Portugal. The little communication which I have the Honour of holding with the present Administration gives me no right to take any sort of special Credit for any information, that I can impart, but I am sincere in the belief of it myself, and I do not think that a Peace is likely to obstruct the Execution of the Projects that are announced.

What the final Result will be, the Wisdom of God can alone foresee, but the Continent of Europe is extinct, and it will be a severe Contest for these Islands to maintain against those who have conquered it. If France and Russia unite, it will require more painful Efforts than we have ever yet known to sustain ourselves, not merely single-handed but even hampered and obstructed in our Exertions by States not professing themselves to be unfriendly to us.

You may think this the Language of mere depression; God grant that the Result may prove it so.

I am here at Ramsgate with my family, enjoying a short Relaxation from business. Lady Scott desires me to present her particular Respects to Mrs. King. Be assured that you live in the warm Remembrance of Friends here and in none more than that of yr. faithful & obedient W. Scott.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Aug. 15, 1809.

My dear Friend:

. . . Our People are not disposed to accede to the last Article of the British Instructions; and I feel confident will not write or say anything in Favour of it. This I gather from several Conversations with those would be most disposed to support such pretensions. My own sentiments being perfectly understood on that Subject, & I, having at their entreaty, omitted something last Winter, which they thought might have a tendency unnecessarily to throw any weight I might be presumed to possess against them, conceived myself as justified in expressing my sentiments on this subject, to which They seem cheerfully to accede. This was done on my return, & in several subsequent Conversations, I have reason to believe they will conduct themselves prudently & with Reserve on those points wherein we differ.

Your letter of the 6th confirms accounts received here from Paris. One Letter, as late as July 3d, says Mr. A. told the writer that the Project of a Treaty was gone to the Emperor, & would be returned within a certain number of days, as he had no doubt, approved. . . .

I remain affectionately your Friend, C. GORE.

COL. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, August 26, 1809.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I enclose you the official accounts of the Battle of Talavera & surrender of Flushing. Lord Chatham having left a Garrison in F., has collected his whole force—probably 35,000 Troops, exclusive of Seamen, at the South extremity of St. Beveland near Fort Lille; from whence he is to move against Antwerp. Great preparations are making there to receive his attack, and we expect every hour to receive accounts of active operations having commenced.

Sir A. Wellesley remained several days in possession of the Field of Battle at Talavera, but finding his rear threatened by the Divisions of Soult & Ney, who have abandoned the Northern provinces, he has retired with the Spanish Army across the Tagus. The object of the French appears to be to destroy the British; but I trust they will be baffled by the bravery of the Troops & the skill & activity of their Leaders.

A strong expectation prevails that hostilities will be renewed between Austria & France—a few days will determine.

We anxiously hope that Mr. Jackson's negotiations may be successful, and that good sense may once more direct the conduct of the two nations towards each other. I believe all *disinterested* men here heartily wish for a good understanding with the *U. S.* . . . Truly yours J. T.

JNO. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, 30 Sept., 1809.

DEAR SIR:

. . . We do not learn that peace is yet concluded between France & Austria; between Russia & Sweden a peace is con-

cluded ; one Article stipulates the exclusion of British ships from the ports of Sweden.

A change of Administration is to take place here. Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh & the Duke of Portland go out & perhaps others. Lord Grenville has been sent for & arrived in Town yesterday ; we shall know in a few days the new arrangement. Mr. Canning & Lord Castlereagh had a duel a few days ago, in which the former was wounded in the thigh—*not* dangerously.

Our season has been the wettest I ever knew; from the end of July to this day (and it rains now) we have had very few days without heavy showers & frequently violent gales : the harvest is not good—Wheat in the Corn Market at Mark Lane sells from 96/ to 120/ the quarter, bread ¼ the quartern loaf. An order in Council passed a few days ago, offering Licences to Vessels to export British manufactures and colonial produce to *France* and her dependencies, and to import *Corn* & *Burr-Stones* for them.

I am faithfully yours J. T.

T. Baring to R. King.

4th Oct., 1809.

Dear Sir :

I am writing at a considerable distance from London, but I cannot suffer the packet to depart without thanking you for your letter of the 31st July which conveys upon the whole a more favorable prospect, than I am inclined myself to entertain ; altho' I can, & do, enter into the probability of your speculation, accompanied with doubts, which perhaps impress my mind more from apprehension than from well founded judgment. In our political speculation we must combine the general state of the World, which is almost divided into three parts, Europe, England & America, and which has introduced opinions & systems solely applicable to the present times. The last will only be considered by the two first, as she applies to their respective interests, when opposed to each other ; & the questions of right and justice, & even solemn treaties, will vanish before those partial interests. The struggle is now for individual existence & unfortunately for us, those who govern are more hostile than favorable to Commerce, imitating

the conduct of France, & conceiving that peasants & soldiers alone contribute towards the physical strength of the country. Whilst those who reason on the subject with you, look at the minute details of the question, I fear that our Govt. will not yield to a full return of a free neutral trade, notwithstanding I am persuaded that it is really a benefit & not an injury to ourselves; at the same time I am equally satisfied that conciliation on our part would produce open hostilities from France, who has coquetted with America, since the disavowal of Erskine, & keeps the countries precisely in the situation in which she wishes us to remain. We are not informed of what is passing in Germany. It was four weeks after we had heard of the armistice, that our Governt. and the Imperial Ambassador received the advice, & then, very little information about their plans or views. The Expedition to the Scheldt was originally intended for the Elbe or Baltic, in the hope that something might arise from Prussia, or perhaps from Russia & we have not yet learnt to arm or disarm, there were too many commands and good things to give away, Spain waits for the close of the Scene in Germany, by which time many fine parts will become a desert. The battle of Talavera was bravely contested against superior numbers, but was not a victory. The papers will inform you about a change of ministers; those who remain will have carried their point by the exclusion of the others, but the last letter from London announces a premier, who is distinguished for a narrow mind and tenacious disposition, unsupported by talent or character. It is however premature to pronounce on the 3d of Octr. . . . Endeavors are used to alarm the public about the K's conscience, although without the slightest foundation, but it is easier to make John Bull swallow a lie, than truth, which is evident in the opinion generally entertained about our disputes with America by the public at large.

always your most faithful humb. servant.

C. J. INGERSOLL TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, 8th October, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Our foreign relations and domestic politics, tho' abundantly strange, have long ceased to be interesting. Nothing but

perplexities abroad—nothing but democracy at home—and tho' it is my misfortune not to coincide in opinion with you as to the root or remedy of our foreign evils, yet I am sure we concur equally in deploring them, and in deprecating that languid internal system which endures and protracts them. I cannot but believe, perhaps merely because I hope, that Mr. Madison will display a more manly & magnanimous policy than either Adams or Jefferson, and that the time is not far distant, when if we are not rescued from embarrassments, we shall at least rise from the political palsy, under which we are groaning at present, into something like national action & dignity. Perhaps the non-ratification of Mr. Erskine's adjustment, which we have all so much regretted, may be the means of more benefit, than its perfection would have been: for if, as it is confidently said, we are to have a treaty or an accommodation with France, owing to the threatenings of a rupture with England, I should not despair of some sort of settlement with the latter, notwithstanding the good understanding between our government and the French.

I am told that the commercial speculations which were adventured during the short interval that followed the proclamation, will generally terminate most ruinously, and that before the next Spring, a scene of great distress will be exhibited among the merchants. If the administration had not been supplied from this temporary source with revenue, the public coffers must have been as empty as the private. But I suppose this resort, so unfortunate to the country, has furnished them with immediate support; how long it may last is another question. In New York you are preparing, I suppose, for the next election, with some prospect of federal success. In Pennsylvania we have at last, I trust, reached the nadir of factious degeneration. For two years to come, the great question, about which the passions of the good people of this state are to be beat up, is whether a fool or a rascal is the fittest Governor. Gov. Snyder, the actual incumbent, tho' hardly warm in his place, has already shown such utter incapacity that his partizans are ashamed of him, and Dr. Leib is making violent efforts to pull him down, no doubt with a design of succeeding him. This controversy is of too much importance to permit such minor considerations as canals, turnpikes and internal improvements to disturb its discussions—and they will have little

chance of legislative attention till that is settled. Next Tuesday will determine which way the popular scales preponderate. I am inclined to believe the odds heavy against the reigning executive. Col. Duane with the influence of the Aurora declares, toto cælo, for his friend Leib; and he is a host irresistible. In our part of the State there is no question of Leib's triumph; to the Eastward probably Snyder is not yet so unpopular. From the excessive agitation of parties among us, I am willing to anticipate a reformation at no remote period, for the people, tho' instigated to intemperate actions by the unlicensed provocations of incendiary presses, which are on all sides equally scandalous, are in the main certainly disposed to quiet and propriety. In New York you are a different community, more respectable—less influenced by newspapers—better governed—and in all respects more enviably circumstanced. Your partizans are entitled to lead from their talents, whatever may be their principles or conduct. Your laws are administered justly—your internal improvements are never neglected whoever rules. The ablest are the first men of all your parties, whereas we are so deep in the slough of faction, that the best men of any party, are never the most prominent. . . .

Your sincere friend & humbl. servt.,

C. J. INGERSOLL.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, October 19, 1809.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . The People discover as much Contentment as can be expected, under the pressure of our Affairs, and the continued Excitement by our Democrats & their presses against G. Britain, & all those who are presumed to be in Opposition to a French Alliance. I cannot however refrain from believing, that, should the U. S. persist in their Non-intercourse with England & carry the measure into effect, they will raise an opposition against their Government in a Quarter where it is least expected; I mean in the District of Maine, (from which C. G. had just returned) whose only Trade is to G. B. and its Dependencies. Yet they, who suffer most by these measures in that District, really are the men that excite & encourage the Hostility to England & Devotion to France.

Should Mr. Madison come to an understanding with the Brith. Govt., we shall do well in Massts. Should the former System be followed, we may be in a Minority ; though such a policy cannot be long acceptable to our people ; and I am confident unless restrained by the actual Power of Bonaparte, the people of this State would soon rise in great force against the supporters of that system.

Our Accounts from Augusta assure us that the Insurrection there is not countenanced by a single Individual of any Consideration. We shall be obliged to keep up a considerable Force to prevent the Rescue of the men confined there, until the Prisoners are legally disposed of. . . .

Yours truly

C. GORE.

JNO. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, November 3d, 1809.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The news which had reached America of the state of our negotiations in France was incorrect. No Treaty is concluded, or likely to be, on terms which we ought to admit. You will find an official note from the French Minister to Mr. Armstrong, in which is expressly stated the intention of the Emperor to establish the principle of free ships free goods. If we choose to lend ourselves for the occasion, to his views (and perhaps the object of Mr. J. Q. Adams' Mission is to renew in the North this old principle of the Armed Neutrality) we may have a Treaty with him, at the expense of a war with this Country.

Peace was signed on the 14th Oct. between Austria & France —we are ignorant of the conditions—the length of the negotiations & the tone of the official communications of the French Senate give reason to believe that this peace is less flattering to the Emperor than he expected. The resistance of the Tyrolese & the evident want of cordiality in various parts of Germany, will render it necessary to keep a great force in that country, and the peace will prove little more than an armed truce.

An Administration is at length complete. Lord Wellesley is on his way home—perhaps to take a share in their glories. . . . The Duke of Portland is dead. Since the Battle of Talavera, no

great affair has taken place in Spain ; the Spaniards again distinguished themselves in the defence of Gevona, and the people seem to gather new animosity and enthusiasm ; but their government is contemptible, & I fear an explosion there which may issue well, but may produce—to their cause.

The crops of this country prove better than was feared. . . .

Your sincere friend

J. T.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8, 1809.

DEAR SIR :

Every engine which the views of unprincipled partizans could employ, has been set to work to excite popular odium against the British Minister, Mr. Jackson. Among others, I learn that it has been reported, that while you were in London, it was once proposed to send hither this same Mr. Jackson, but that upon your objecting against him, Mr. Merry was sent in his stead. I am also well informed that Joel Barlow has said that was the fact, that he was at the time in London & knew it.

Will you have the goodness to tell me, whether there be any truth in the report?, adding any explanation you see fit. Assertions of Democrats in questions which affect the interests of their party, require other testimony than their own to obtain credit with me.

Today Mr. Giles delivered the most laboured and the most ordinary speech that I have ever heard from his lips in support of his resolutions concerning Mr. Jackson. They have passed without opposition to the third reading, which will be on Monday next. Massachusetts and Connecticut alone have federal Senators present, and probably theirs will be the only negative votes.

With great Respect & esteem I am yours

T. PICKERING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20, 1809.

DEAR SIR :

. . . While you were in London, a trade was carried on in the West Indies between the British Islands & the dominions of

Spain, under licenses from the Brit. Govt. At the same time American vessels were captured & condemned for attempting to carry on the same trade with the Spaniards. I wish to learn the principle on which the British Ministry justified this conduct, seeing the prohibition to us was not to deprive their enemy of necessary supplies. Was it not on the ground of their claim of right to *interdict the trade*, and therefore if *indulged*, they might lawfully monopolize its advantages? Or on what other ground?

Faithfully yours,

T. PICKERING.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

NEW YORK, Dec. 25, 1809.

DEAR SIR:

I am obliged to you for the Documents which you have been so good as to send me and am also your debtor for two unacknowledged letters; one concerning Mr. Jackson, and the other respecting the trade carried on by the English in time of war between the West India Islands and the Spanish Colonies.

In respect to Mr. Jackson, it is true that I opposed his being sent to this Country as the successor of Mr. Liston; when this Gentleman returned home, both Mr. Merry and Mr. Jackson were spoken of as his successor, and early in 1801, I had reason to believe that Lord Hawkesbury, the Minr. for foreign affairs, was inclined to give Mr. Jackson the preference. As I was acquainted with the Reputation of both these Gentlemen, and had formed, as I believed, a pretty exact estimate of their characters, I was induced to discourage the mission of Mr. J. in the expectation that if he should not, that Mr. Merry would, be sent to this Country. Mr. J. was at that time a young man, without experience, and distinguished for an ample share of those prejudices which his countrymen in general take so little pains to conceal, and which are so disadvantageous to them abroad; his temper was not mild, nor were his manners conciliatory, his Integrity and Talents were unquestioned, but no proof had yet been disclosed of his prudence. Furthermore it was known to me that Mr. Jackson desired the American Mission as a stepping stone in his career, and that his real views were directed to the procuring of a mission to one of the great Courts in Europe.

On the other hand, Mr. Merry, tho' a person of inferior education and moderate ability, had lived for the greater part of his life out of England; had imbibed few of those sentiments, which disserve his countrymen in foreign countries, was a man of mature age, mild manners, acknowledged discretion, and, what I consider of much importance, was desirous of the American Mission as a comfortable and permanent residence. From this comparison of characters and views, I was led to avail myself of the opportunity of occasional conversations with Lord Hawkesbury and his Colleagues, to throw impediments in Mr. Jackson's way and to discourage his being sent to America. I doubtless employed most of the reasons to which I have alluded, and the result was that the Mission of Mr. J. was relinquished and Mr. Merry was appointed to succeed Mr. Liston. I did not omit to communicate to the Secretary of State, the part I had taken in this business, and, as it would seem, this Dispatch has been communicated, since before Mr. Jackson's arrival, Duane & others proclaimed that on a former occasion I had remonstrated against Jackson's being sent to this country, and that he must be bad indeed, if one of my principles would have objected to him.

Concerning the enquiry made in your second letter, the principle upon which the Eh. Govt. place the justification of these Licences in time of war, is this; that having the right to prohibit a trade either to their own subjects, or to foreigners, it does not follow that they are obliged to exercise such right; and that their own convenience becomes the rule, by which they determine to exercise or not, their Right of Prohibition, or to exercise the same in part, and to forbear, as respects the residue. So far as regards the reason of the Law, by which neutrals are supposed to be excluded from certain Branches of Commerce, this forbearance to exercise a Belligerent Right seems to be inconsistent with it; and the Relaxation by the Belligerent for the benefit of his own subjects, ought in Equity to be accompained by a correspondent Relaxation in favor of neutrals.

with great Truth & Esteem I remain your ob. servt.

R. KING.

P. S.—As the Etiquette between nations requires when a Minister is desired to be recalled by the Sovreign to whom he is accredited, even for admitted delinquency, that the recall-

ing Sovreign shd. in return demand the recall of the ministers accredited to him, will not this interruption of Dipl. Intercourse be a satisfactory offering to the French Emperor? May it not explain what wd. otherwise be inexplicable?

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Dec. 25, 1809.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

You will perceive by our Papers, that our People are aware of the critical Situation to which our Affairs are reduced by the late Executive disclosures. This State of Things does not seem likely to be altered, for the better, by the Wisdom of Congress. Our Merchants, however, by their Disposition to send every species of property out of the country, discover more fear of their own Government, than of any foreign nation. If our Citizens, should be aware of the Hazard of a war with G. B. they will very generally be disposed to exert themselves and declare their disapprobation of the measures, which lead to so disastrous an event. No one here can learn what Course Congress will adopt; but our Merchants, Mechanics & Farmers, and especially the inhabitants of Maine, are extremely averse to war with England. The non-intercourse with that Country, whether effected by direct Laws, or by such as will produce a prohibition to our Vessels, by that nation, is destructive to the Prosperity of that District; many of the Inhabitants are daily emigrating to the British Provinces to the Eastward. . . .

Your affectionate friend

C. GORE.

CHAPTER X.

King to Gore—Rulers seek to gain Time—France will not change—Question with England will remain open—France may force us to War with her—Trumbull to King—Reports of E. India Co. Difficulties—American Affairs—Troup to King—Clinton and the New York Mayoralty—Misconduct in it—Gore to King—People fear War, especially in Maine—Troup to Pendleton—Erskine's Arrangement and Jackson's Negotiation, in both Government wrong—Deprecates possible War with England—King to Pickering—Fears Government wishes to keep open Misunderstanding with England—To establish Continental Maritime Law under Influence of France—Pickering to King—Mischievous Regulations to coerce Great Britain—Agrees with King's Views relative to the Government—Foreign Missions—Pickering to King—Will Great Britain retaliate against us if Measures proposed pass?—Van Ness to King—Varick for Mayor of New York—King—Presidency of Columbia College—Mason to King—Presidency of Columbia College.

R. King to C. Gore.

January 2, 1810.

This letter relates to a method to enable Mr. Gore to settle an account against him standing on the books of the U. S. Treasury, for moneys paid to him for salary, while he was acting as Commissioner in London under the 7th Article of the Treaty of Peace. It would appear that this account had never been closed. The amounts had not been credited to him, though all had been receipted for, and were still charged against him, as no regular and specific account had been made out. Mr. King writes:

Soon after I returned I made enquiry whether any accounts were open in my name upon the books of the Treasury, and to my surprize found a similar charge against me to that which exists against you. I immediately forwarded my a/c drawn out to the

above rule, and the a/c was settled in a small balance in my favor remitted to me. Sometime after the settlement of my a/c, I recollect J. Q. Adams speaking to me concerning a like a/c wh. stood open against him. yours R. K.

P. Script. As I have filled the sheet, and an Envelope is necessary I may as well say a word or two on Politics : tho' being in the secrets of no party, I may in my conjectures be wide of the truth.

Whatever may be the ultimate aim of our Rulers, if any such they have, their present object seems to be mostly to gain time, and to do nothing. Bonaparte will do nothing they like, and as they dare not displease him, since their party is identified with friendship with France, they will not come to any settlement with England. The President's speech, with the Documents, are a Tub to the whale ; and the plan succeeds to admiration ; for as was expected, Congress and the whole Country, so far as it leaves its business to attend to politics, are exclusively employed in discussing the Documents, in justifying or condemning Erskine, in approving or disapproving the conduct of Jackson ; and nobody either thinks or speaks of the alarming condition of the Country ; nobody points out the wretched policy that has brought us into this condition ; or warns the People of the danger of continuing to confide in such weak and treacherous hands.

There is not the smallest reason to expect a favorable change in France. Hopes are said to be entertained that Lord Grenville and his Party, if they come into power, may do something that will remove the embarrassments between the two Countries. I doubt the sincerity of these hopes ; and moreover believe that upon all the material points of difficulty, and especially as respects the French point, which our Rulers believe all important, that he is as little likely to make what we think just concessions, as any man in England.

I therefore have no expectation of an adjustment with England, unless France adopt some measure of such marked violence that the People shall restrain their Govt. from acquiescing under it. I have no apprehension that the affair with Jackson will induce Eng. to declare war agt. us ; but if Mr. J. Q. Adams is employed to revive the Northern League, and we are to become parties to it, war with Eng. we shall have.

This step however desirable would be a bold one, and the Country would not justify it ; I therefore doubt if it will be taken. We may make new Commercial Regulations, and England retaliate upon us ; the ports may be opened without restraint to American ships in hopes that the Eng. Captures of Vessels bound to France may influence the Country ; but it will all fail ; what captures, and speeches, laws, and treaties and public Documents could do has been done : the people cannot be roused. The late Publication has utterly failed in its object ; the papers are read with the same indifference that an old almanack is read : the result in my mind is this ; that our Govt. would adjust all misunderstandings with France if they could ; but the views of France have stood and will stand in their way : with England they wd. not, if they could, settle our disagreements ; both therefore will remain open as England will not make war on us : we shall make it of choice on nobody, except upon each other. France is however likely to adopt some measure that will not leave our Rulers their own masters—in this case we may have war with France and friendship with Engld. yor &c.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, January 11, 1810.

DEAR SIR :

Your two letters of the 12th & 22d Nov., by this packet are in my hands. We have also seen (republished here) the President's Speech, & the correspondence between Mr. Smith and Mr. Jackson ; these have produced considerable sensation here. I have no doubt but France has given the U. S. her ultimatum in the letter from M. Champagny to Mr. Armstrong, of which I sent you a copy some time since by Mr. Hartshorne : that is, that she expects America to join with Europe in the system that free Ships make free goods. I presume we are not prepared to go this length and take the consequences : but I fear we shall in the End find ourselves completely involved with both the Belligerents—the usual result of shuffling policy ; not that I regard the differences between this Country and the U. S. as irreconcileable, were they but submitted to the discussion of temperate men, but there is the difficulty.

We are told that negotiation is going on here between Lord Wellesly & Mr. Pinkney ; but I know nothing of the real state of their discussions.

We have been hitherto very fortunate in Weather, having had no snow and very little Frost. The Parliament will meet on the 23rd, when the political campaign will open. I send you a few papers, from which you will find that the poor Spaniards, untaught by experience, have again been hazarding pitched battles in the open Country, and again been cruelly beaten. The Cortez are to assemble on the 1st of March ; I fear a little too late.

There is an unpleasant report from India, the Company have thought proper to introduce a greater degree of economy in their expenditures than formerly prevailed, & in the course of this reformation, they touched the emoluments of military officers ; this occasioned discontent, and is said to have ended in the absolute Mutiny of all the native Troops. Probably this account is much exaggerated, but a serious evil has certainly taken place.

The Frigate John Adams is arrived in the Downs, and various reports are current of violent proceedings & resolutions in the U. S. I have not seen any one from whom I can learn the fact, but I conjecture that her errand is merely to bring to Mr. P. his dispatches and instructions to demand the recall of Mr. Jackson. . . . Have the Prince Napoleon and the Dutchess of Baltimore honored New York with their august presence ? I presume the Dutchess of Lenox and Lady Glorvina have been superlatively happy in such exalted Society.

Mrs. T. joins in cordial remembrance of Mr. King and all the Family with Dr. Sir

Your faithful Servant

J. T.

Mr. R. Troup, having been proposed by his friends as a candidate for Mayor of New York, wrote to Mr. King two confidential letters from Albany of Jan. 8 and 12, 1810. Being himself doubtful whether such an appointment would not interfere with his agency of the Pulteney Estate in Genesee County, he asked advice as to the propriety of his accepting it, though it was urged upon him for the good of the party. In the second letter he says:

Quitting what is private, I turn to what is public, and I think of much public importance. The late report of the committee of the humane society in your City (N. Y.) has excited not a little interest here; we see in it the scandalous rapacity of Clinton in licencing grog shops, some of the most powerful corrupters of the morals of the people. We have long had it in desire here to see the corrupting influence of the Mayor of New York destroyed by confining the Mayor to a decent and respectable standing salary; and obliging him to account with and pay over to the City Treasurer all his receipts beyond his salary, for the use of the City. It is very certain that the emoluments, right or wrong, of the office during democratic tyranny have been enormous—Clinton's receipts have been stated in the federal papers at $15,000 per annum.

I never thought it possible that this could be the case, till some time since I came to the knowledge of a fact which completely put my incredulity to flight. The fact is this. Last Fall twelvemonth, Lawrance and I jointly owning some lots at Coerlaer's Hook went to look at them. Col. Willett had engaged with us to see the lots filled up under an order of the Corporation for that purpose. The lots are in Willett's neighbourhood and they adjoin lots belonging to him. We went to Willett's. He received us with great cordiality and told us he had lived long enough to see & know that federal men were the most honorable men in the country; we then drank a glass or two of good wine with him; and after this confession & the good wine had got settled, we all went in glee to look at our lots. When we arrived upon the ground it appeared that Willett had filled up a great extent of his own grounds; upon which I asked him jocosely, "Why Col. Willett you have been here at vast expense filling up; and I suspect you must have found the emoluments of the Mayor's office convenient to you." To which he replied jocosely also "that he had found them convenient." I then asked him if he felt any objection against telling us the amount of his receipts; he said no, and then assured us that he was particular and exact in having an account of his receipts, while in office, kept by his clerk; and that the amount was upwards of $13,000. The moment he mentioned the sum, I cast my eyes upon Lawrance's phiz, and I need not tell you, who know him so well, what effect the sum had upon it. Willett

was but nine months or little better in office, and it has been said of him, and I believe truly, that he gave up considerable emoluments that by democratic practice he was entitled to take. Is not the inference a fair one that Clinton has been in the annual receipt of at least $15,000? So strong has been the desire here to have this corrupting influence of the New York Mayor destroyed, that Mr. Van Vechten obtained a promise from Mr. Harison last year, that he would draw a bill relative to the salary and emoluments of the office of Mayor, & either send or bring it here for the purpose of an attempt this winter to get it passed by federal aid. Harison is more "au fait" in the New York Charter & affairs of the Corporation than any of us. When I was last in New York, I reminded Harison of his promise to Van Vechten, and added my own personal request in favor of the bill. Amongst other good effects, such a law would lessen competition for the office, and tend to put the office into more honorable and pure hands. Now the pelf of the office is the occasion of a general scramble for it. I beg of you to reflect upon this subject, and if you accord with us here, I wish you would take a convenient opportunity of conversing with Harison about his bill; and at the same time suggesting to him your idea of the salary which it would be proper to allow the Mayor. Harison about the 2nd or 3rd of next month will be setting off for Albany. The law, if we can get it passed, will be highly honorable to our party; and I am much mistaken if it will not be a public blessing to your City. If I have the misfortune of being called to the office by the decided opinions & wishes of my friends I shall hate to be a partaker of the extortions which have now grown into the shape of regular perquisites. I shall wish only a salary proper for the Station and honorable to the city. My object will be public good and public honor and not private emolument.

You will excuse the length of this letter, when I declare to you that I intend it as another proof of the implicit confidence I place on the sincerity of your friendship.

With the most perfect Regard &c

Rob. Troup.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, January 14, 1810.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . Our People are somewhat alarmed, but I question if enough so to prevent the Evils that threaten us. Did the sober Citizens think war with England probable, all their Endeavours to prevent it would be exerted. The District of Maine, which finds a Market only in G. B. & her Dependencies for their produce, would suffer extremely in such an event, and did the Inhabitants believe that the measures of Govt. tended directly to deprive them of this Market, Party Spirit would for a time yield to their more substantial interests.

Our Legislature assembles on the 24th, and I think they will be disposed to adopt all proper and constitutional measures to prevent the Evils which threaten us, if they should be aware of the Tendency & Design of the National Administration to ally us with France, or produce Hostilities with G. B. . . .

yours affectionately,

C. GORE.

To Mr. Pendleton, who was desirous of presenting himself as a candidate for Mayor of New York, Mr. Troup, whose friends had urged him to allow them to nominate him, wrote, assuring him that he did not seek, and that he had no right to expect, the office, giving him many reasons for his decision: his agency, with which he was contented, and with which the position as Mayor might interfere; his non-residence in the City, and his unwillingness to expose himself and his friends to the imputation of caballing so as to exclude others, citizens, and thus better entitled to the office. No man, he says,

"can be happier than I am in my family, and with the office I hold I am perfectly comfortable and easy in my circumstances, and in this situation, and this alone, do I wish to continue, without interfering with the views of any other man, particularly with those of my friends, and without doing anything that will look like avarice, or be thought mean, or unbecoming a candid and virtuous man."

R. Troup to N. Pendleton.

Albany, Jany. 23, 1810.

My dear Friend:

. . . Our friends here are unanimous on the subject of Erskine's arrangement and Jackson's negociation; and with regard to both of them, all think our Government is decidedly wrong. We regard Erskine's arrangement as little, if any, better than an act of swindling; and as to the insult offered by Jackson none of us will claim to divide with Fisk the reward offered in Baltimore for discovering the mighty insult. We see in the whole correspondence, which I have read over twice with close attention, a style & manner on the part of Smith intended to disgust and indeed affront Jackson & lead to a rupture of the negociation, and thereby to please Bonaparte—that illustrious protector of the liberties of mankind.

We think that you and our other friends who have been to pay attention & respect to Mr. Jackson have acted rightly, and if we were in New York we should follow your example. By the by, what is meant, my good friend, with this character of *Americanism*, that some of our friends are advising our party to assume? I ask you again what is meant when we are told we must be Americans & support our government? What? are we so blindly devoted to the measures of a government apparently bent on a system of policy that is likely to ruin, not only our commerce, our agriculture, and, I fear, our constitution and our liberties? Yes all these important objects are in imminent danger, if our administration persist in their wild career. If we get into a war with Great Britain, what is to ward off the fraternal and death-inflicting hug of Bonaparte? Ought we not therefore to be in favor of an adjustment of our differences with Great Britain, and thereby avoid all endeavours, however feeble, to work her downfal,—when she is in truth & fact the only obstacle in the way of the subjugation of the world? Is it not an insult to the majesty of heaven to harbour a thought of placing the least dependence on the moderation and justice of Bonaparte? Is it not therefore our duty to raise our voices and cry aloud against the perfidious and detestable policy of our Rulers? Shall we discharge our duty to our country —nay, to God himself, by sitting with folded arms and not attempting to arrest the progress of our nation to swift destruction? To

me therefore it appears that when we are told we must be Americans, it is in other words to say that we must turn round and approve the conduct of our Administration & support their measures, when we know and believe that they are dishonorable —disgraceful—and ruinous to our country. If such be Americanism, may God in his infinite mercy deliver me from it!

Such are the sentiments, my dear friend, of all your friends here, without a single dissenting voice on the present state of our public affairs; and I beg you to make them known amongst our friends in New York; that they may see that we ask to be considered as worthy of being united with them in that bond of patriotism—real and genuine patriotism, boldly and perseveringly pursuing the public good—which Washington and Hamilton have left as a legacy to their friends and followers.

Your very sincere & affectionate friend,

ROB. TROUP.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

NEW YORK, January 26, 1810.

DEAR SIR:

At this distance, and without exact information, it is quite impossible from the speeches, motions and acts of Congress, to divine their actual views, or to conjecture with any measure of satisfaction, what the condition of the country is likely to be. If the object be to gain time, to do nothing, but to wait for the impulse of foreign events, the confusion of ideas so manifest in the proceedings of the H. of R. will appear to be less extraordinary.

I have for some time apprehended, that the Administration, embarrassed by the domestic difficulties into which they have plunged the country, have meditated a connection with the continental powers of Europe for the purpose of renewing the attempt to impose a new maritime Code upon Eng. If Mr. A's Mission has this project in charge, the course of our Rulers would naturally be such as it has been; they would keep open the misunderstanding with England, and hold the trade & navigation of the country subject to inconvenient and disadvantageous restriction. The Bill of Macon could in my belief prove most injurious to the U. S. and of little or no disadvantage for the present, and for the future a beneficial Regulation, to England.

The project of Mr. Burwell, who avows his disappointment in the system of ex parte regulations, is quite a different measure from any that has yet been offered. It is even stronger than those which Sweden & Denmark attempted to put in practice in 1801—and to my mind looks very like a preparatory step for our accession to the Northern League. We have it in evidence by turning to the Proceedings in England in 1800 & 1801, that the English nation will regard every attempt of a neutral state to protect by force her merchant vessels from search on the ocean, as a hostile aggression upon their incontestable rights, which they are bound by the principles of self preservation even, to meet and repel by force. If you authorize merchant vessels to arm and resist visitation and search, or if you put them under the Convoy of your Frigates which shall be instructed to resist visitation and search—the matter will not demand six hours deliberation in England—it must and will be treated as an aggression to be repelled by arms.

Any project of this nature at this time, wd. be regarded as having been dictated only by France. For our former Administrations have openly, clearly, ably and I may add triumphantly contended against the principles of the Armed Neutrality, & in favor of the old law. England, as well as every other Nation of Europe is in possession of our elaborate State Papers upon this subject. The authority of the U. S. has been cited in support of the ancient law; and every innovation upon that Law, after the declarations we have published concerning it, will be naturally viewed with jealousy and ascribed not to a change in our opinions, but to the influence of that Power, which aims at uniting all other nations against its enemy. If a combination of the Northern Powers, directed by France, is not in itself a thing desired by our Rulers because such an accession to the League would be an unbecoming desertion of our recorded principles, and furthermore because it would involve the U. S. in immediate war with England, nevertheless it may be desired as the only means of extricating the Administration from the mistakes & difficulties that have been created. But even this calculation would prove fallacious; the cause of the war would be investigated, its miseries would be felt, and its authors very soon brought into disrepute and disgrace. I know very well that you are suffi-

ciently acquainted with this subject in all its bearings, and therefore need not that any of your friends should attempt to cast light upon it, or to magnify its importance; Nevertheless it may not be amiss that you as well as others shd. know what are the apprehensions of men disengaged from all public duties, and who are spectators of the events which are so rapidly changing the condition of the world. I am, dear Sir,

faithfully yrs.,

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Feby. 2d, 1810.

DEAR SIR:

I duly received your letter of the 26th. The subject is momentous—the ruinous measures of our unprincipled Administration—who will rather sacrifice the commerce, agriculture & manufactures of the U. States, and even hazard their independence, than impliedly acknowledge their errors, by undoing what they have done in imposing commercial restrictions & maintaining and aggravating our differences with England. They have pronounced, and continue to pronounce, the embargo to be "a wise measure." To this Giles also must refer in his late speech on the bill for repairing the four frigates lying in the mud at this place (and which was published in the National Intelligencer, of January 29) in the last paragraph but one. In the confidence of an uncontroulable popularity, they married the embargo and its appendages to their system of politicks. This is one cause why they so obstinately persevere in associating, with every abatement of their vigour, some mischievous regulation to keep up the idea of coercing Great Britain, & thus provide some mask for their mortified pride. But there is another, and it is the great and decisive motive to the course they pursue. *To do no act which will conciliate our differences with Great Britain.* Hence the adjustment with Erskine was accompanied with expressions so offensive towards the King as would ensure its rejection; and of the other point, with the exclusion of all the conditions on which they knew Erskine was instructed to make an arrangement, while they deluded him with assurances, that those conditions would in their spirit and effect be provided for or admitted.

I have hitherto supposed agreeably to the above remark, what you have conjectured—that the present object of the administration was "to gain time"—waiting events in Europe. Hence in part the confusion of ideas so manifest in the proceedings of the H. of R. I say *in part*, for much is the offspring of sheer ignorance in respect to our foreign relations & to commerce, and to the power of the U. States; for they think we can make a successful war against Great Britain; and upon her fall, resist effectually any attempt of France to subjugate us; altho' they imagine (another clear proof of their ignorance) she is and will be our friend!

Your apprehensions of a design of our Administration to form a connexion with the Continental Powers of Europe, for the purpose of renewing the attempt to impose a new maritime Code upon England, appear to me to be very reasonable. The "desertion of recorded principles" would be no impediment to our Administration. Excepting the admission by Mr. Jefferson to Genet, of the old law, that enemy's property might be taken in neutral vessels, those "recorded principles" so far as they apply to the present state of things, were avowed and maintained by Administrations *exclusively federal*, which therefore it would rather give pleasure to our present Rulers to disavow and abandon. Those "principles" I believe, stand "recorded" chiefly in my controversies with the French & Spanish ministers Adet & Yrujo. That these were preserved in Europe in collections of State Papers, and quoted by any distinguished writer on maritime law, I had no knowledge 'till within a few weeks past, when I saw them so quoted in Ward's Treatise on the relative rights and duties of belligerent and neutral nations; a book, tho' published eight years ago (so little can I read) I had not ever heard of.

The inclosed copy of Mr. Jefferson's message to the Senate, in nominating Mr. Short minister to Russia, countenances your apprehensions and knowing as you do, the insidious character and bias of the man, the message may enable you, amid his disguises of language, to penetrate his ultimate views in instituting that mission.*

* Mr. Short was no more than *minister resident* of the U. S. at Madrid, which Mr. J. must have well known. He was appointed in 1794 by Genl. Washington—probably on Jefferson's recommendation—directly or indirectly—

Short, I have understood, had rendered himself *personally obnoxious* to some leading Virginians ; hence Giles' earnest opposition which terminated in Short's unanimous rejection. I explicitly concurred in all Giles' *public* objections to Short, grounded in part on my own knowledge of his very moderate abilities, which would be wholly unequal to the *ostensible* objects of the mission. I remarked, too, on that occasion, upon the disgraceful idea advanced by the President, of submitting, in effect, in the future negotiations for peace, the interests of the United States to the arbitration of a Congress of Ministers from the powers of Europe.

You will recollect when John Q. Adams was nominated to Russia, that the mission itself was voted by the Senate to be inexpedient : at the summer Session, when Mr. Madison nominated him anew, he laid before the Senate some letters from our Consul Harris at St. Petersburgh, & extracts of a letter or letters from Armstrong—*all in confidence*—when not a particle of the information *required secresy.* My interpretation at the time, of the manœuvre, was this ; The democrats who had voted against the mission in March, would need some *pretext* for a direct contrary vote in June : the President, therefore, provided a salve for their first scruples. If questioned on their change of conduct, they could say, the President had communicated papers which justified the mission, but being confidential they could not further explain.

A fresh instance of the disposition to court Bonaparte, you will see in the debates on the appropriation bill, in which an item was introduced to provide *explicitly* for the mission of a minister to *Madrid! explicitly*, no doubt to sanction the future deed by this approbation of Congress. The *express* appropriation was refused. The pretence of the Executive partisans that it was to provide for a minister to whichever party should obtain the Government of Spain, is too flimsy to impose on even the ignorance of the troops of the palace ; who with their master not only expect, but apparently wish to see the speedy subjugation of that Kingdom to Bonaparte.

for Short was one of his favorites. Observe the word *proceed* to St. Petersburg, as if it were merely a journey from the Court of Madrid to St. Petersburg, whereas Short was in the United States when he received the appointment to St. Petersburg.

I am much obliged by your letter, and I pray you not to hesitate to communicate to me your ideas on any subject; for on all matters of public interest such information as you will give I know will be important & useful. Even if previously possessed of the same, it will afford me solid satisfaction to find my own views confirmed by yours.

I am dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

P. S. I have just recd. "a letter on the genius & disposition of the French Government" said to be written by a young gentleman of Baltimore, of the name of *Walsh*. In page 247 he speaks in the highest terms of *Wm. Pinkney*, and intimates that he could settle our disputes with G. B. "if he were invested with suitable powers." In page 248, you will see the climax of his Eulogium. Whatever may be his *talents*, a letter you once wrote me, concerning his apostacy from federalism, gave me no favorable impression of his *heart*.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Feby 5, 1810.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Your conjecture of the object of Mr. Adams mission to Russia is now supported by an occurrence in the H. of R. Smiley *let the cat out of the bag*. On the question of an appropriation for that mission, he said a Northern Confederacy was forming in favor of the liberty of the seas; and it was necessary for us to have a minister there. This I have from a member of the House, and doubtless you will soon see it in the newspapers.

Seeing the British Government perfectly understand the character of ours—its weakness and its baseness—will it be at all necessary for the former in vindication of its honour and its rights, to retaliate the "American Navigation Act," as it has been insidiously called by the agents of the Administration? Why not consider it in fact, as it is in terms, as reproachful to France as to G. Britain? The British Government were willing, in the same way, to view the non-intercourse law in respect to ships of war, tho' it was almost nominal as to France.

As the exclusion of British Merchant vessels from our ports, cannot be for the purpose of giving an advantage to our navigation because of the comparatively small proportion the former bears to the latter, and because the Southern men who now bear rule were always opposed to favoring our own navigation by even a small additional tonnage duty on foreign ships, I consider it as amounting nearly to demonstration that the real design of Macon's bill, and the confident expectation of its authors, is, to provoke British retaliation and thus to turn it to their own account, as an additional engine of popular irritation; for there is no sort of delusion which they think (and too justly) may not be practised on the people, and with a fair prospect of success. Suppose then that Macon's bill becomes a law; what would the *policy* of G. Britain suggest? I should say—*to acquiesce*—to smother its resentment (if this should not be absorbed by contempt) and thus let *our* government fall into the pit of its own digging. G. Britain would then almost exclusively enjoy the benefit of our commerce; and the peculiar excellence of it would be, that she enjoyed it by our own act! I am forcibly struck with this idea. Think of it —and if you deem it correct communicate and impress it on Mr. Jackson, with whom you must ere this time be acquainted. I have seen him.

faithfully yours

T. PICKERING.

P. S. In Coleman's paper I think I saw *your* ideas of Macon's bill.

The Article referred to by Mr. Pickering relative to Macon's Bill is here copied from New York *Evening Post*, Jan. 16, 1810.

Macon's Bill—Are we never to see the end of measures, equally repugnant to the recorded professions of our rulers, and subversive of the public welfare? After running through all the changes of commercial restrictions, which have humbled the spirit, impaired the morals, and utterly deranged the commerce of the country, is there no prospect of our administration being yet weaned from that folly, that spirit of *faction*, which is fast annihilating the sources of our wealth, as it has already emasculated and disgraced the nation? Or are we to content ourselves with

humiliation, poverty and dishonour, provided we receive the approbation and countenance of France? I had really hoped that there did exist among us, if not a sufficiency of elevated pride and sound understanding, at least, such a portion of common sense, and common discernment, as would restrain our rulers from further experiments in the downward course, which, at a period certainly near, must deliver us up to civil convulsions, dissensions and ruin. These rulers, whatever may be their views or their wishes, cannot now plunge the nation into war. The last attempt, by their maneuvre with Mr. Jackson, to inflame the country and to raise it to the war pulse, has entirely failed. Whatever may have been the publick sensibility upon the rupture, the bulletin, the message, and the first appearance of the documents, the debates that have taken place in Congress, joined to the discussions that have appeared in all the leading federal papers, have, so far destroyed the public confidence in the integrity of these people, that they cannot now, if they would, excite a desire for war. Their only expectations, their only remaining chance for this is to effect the adoption of measures, which however mischievous to the country, may produce such retaliatory regulations on the part of England, as may be made the occasion of agitating and inflaming the country to such a pitch as will enable them to bring about their object, indirectly.

Mr. Macon's Bill, whatever may have been designed, is a measure of this tendency. There can be no doubt of the authority of Congress to pass a navigation Act. But its principles must be such as will secure us against those retaliatory regulations, which must either put an end to all navigation, or must defeat the professed object of acquiring the whole or a principal part of it for ourselves. As the British navigation Act is deemed to be an authority and a model, let us examine its provisions and compare them with those of Mr. Macon's Bill.

According to the British navigation act, the trade between Great-Britain and a foreign country can be carried on only by British ships, and the ships of such foreign country—and foreign productions can only be imported into England directly from the country of their growth or manufacture. The limitations of this famous act apply only to the articles imported into Great-Britain; it being free for any vessel to export and to carry whithersoever

may be desired, the produce and manufacture of Great Britain Thus by way of illustration, while British merchandize may be exported to Russia in Russian or British vessels, or in the vessels of any other country, which Russia permits to import them, the productions of Russia can be imported into Great-Britain only in British or Russian vessels, and such importations must be directly from Russia, and not from any third place. In time of war, the King in council has by occasional acts of Parliament, a power to dispense with this restraint, as to the direct importations, and to permit foreign merchandize to be imported from intermediate or third places, so that as far as respects the productions and manufactures of Great-Britain, they may be exported in the vessels of any country ; and as far as concerns the productions and manufactures of any foreign country, that are permitted to be imported into England, such importation is confined to British vessels, and vessels of such foreign country ; the right of carriage being common to both.

Mr. Macon's bill proposes a very different regulation : namely, that the whole of the imports of the United States from certain foreign countries, as well as the whole of the exports to these countries, shall be confined to American bottoms. Great-Britain as well as the United States, are commercial nations, and rivals in the carrying trade. It is a maxim alike antient and equitable, that the law which others apply to us, we may justly apply to them.* G. Britain therefore, from those motives which influence all states, will, without doubt, enact a regulation concerning our commercial intercourse with them, of the like import with the regulations of Mr. Macon's bill concerning their commercial intercourse with us. The consequence will be that our vessels, being excluded from their ports, & their vessels excluded from ours, they will meet in the Western Islands and other intermediate places, whither we shall carry our exports, and where they, in virtue of a relaxation of this navigation law will come to receive them, as almost every other market will by belligerent Decrees and Orders be closed against us. G. Britain will be the principal and almost the only market for our produce, which is more than sufficient for its supply ; so that, to the re-

* " *Quam legem exteri nobis posuere eandem illis ponemus. Stiernbook de jure Sucton.*

ductions of price from the want of competitions in the markets, the proposed regulations by requiring the double freight, will reduce still lower the price of our productions. And as by the proposed law, our vessels cannot import into the United States, the manufactures or produce of Great Britain or her territories, except directly ; as we shall be shut out from their ports, in the manner that they are shut out from ours—the consequence must be, that no article of British growth or manufacture will be lawfully imported into the U. S. But although ten men may divert the course of a river, a million can not stop it from running to the sea, so although our rulers may forbid the importation of articles which our habits and wants, require, they cannot prevent our obtaining them. We shall be supplied, and the country will not only pay the value of these goods, but an additional sum sufficient to compensate the risk of bringing them. Not only will the goods be supplied at an enhanced price, but the revenue will be defrauded ; since being imported contrary to law, no duty will be collected. But even these are not the worst effects of the regulation.

No country on earth possessed a body of more honorable merchants than those of the United States. In none, was there ever so large a revenue collected with so few frauds. Those honorable men, victims of the incapacity of our rulers, will be restrained by the law, but their places will be supplied, as under the existing and former restrictions their places have been supplied, by an unknown yet numerous body of adventurers, who in combination with foreigners, disregarding republicanism, scoffing at patriotism and despising our laws, will fill our markets with smuggled goods.—Already business has shifted hands, and a new class of men are appearing amongst us with capital and credit to do that business which more worthy men feel themselves compelled to decline.

If all the power of France has been unable to enforce her prohibition, can we persuade ourselves that the United States will be able to succeed in this impolitic and immoral system ?—a system tried during the course of the war of the revolution, and then proved to be utterly defective. What valuable purpose will be accomplished by the continuation of these restrictive measures ? Will they coerce foreign nations ? Will they restore the public

prosperity or replenish the public treasury? They will do neither —and the only motives which can be imagined for their adoption, are first, a compliance with the views of France, and secondly, the hope of thereby prolonging the powers of a faction. To rescue the country from these ruinous schemes, to preserve what remains of national honor, and national resources, there is but one course that can save us from ruin, and that is, to undo all that has been done—to restore commerce to its freedom and its former channels; to put the country in a condition to meet war; and with a spirit of moderation, firmness, impartiality, and good faith, to attempt an adjustment of our misunderstandings and disagreement with foreign nations. This has not been done since the departure of the —— Adams, but when done, there are the best grounds for expecting that the result will be honorable and advantageous.

W. W. Van Ness to R. King.

Albany, 8 Feby., 1810.

Dear Sir:

. . . In the mean time I wish you to be assured that I am perfectly satisfied with the general course of policy which you have suggested. In relation to New York particularly, I can say but little. I am mortified and disgusted with the conduct of many of our friends, in that city. They have created difficulties & embarrassments which appear to me to be insuperable. At present I am convinced the appt. of Mr. Varick in the only one that will answer. I wish you would continue to write me when your leisure will permit. Your opinions will, as they ought to, be nearly decisive.

Yours very respectfully & Sincerely,
W. W. Van Ness.

R. King—Note in his handwriting.

Feby. 6, 1810.

This evening Dr. Mason renewed with me a conversation respecting the College; in the course of which he recalled the subject of a conversation with me at Jamaica in the summer of 1808, which treated of his appointment to the Presidency of the

College. I expressed to him the opinion before avowed of his Competence, etc. told him I had mentioned the subject to Mr. G. Morris, who approved, but that I had not entered fully into the matter with him.

That he could not be unapprized of difficulties which I had to overcome—that the division, and rivalry between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians were such as that a common opinion seemed hopeless—that the Episcopalians feared that the College wd. be turned into a theological Institution directed by Dissenters—and that connected as I was with the Episcopalians, it would be difficult to take any part that wd. appear like desertion. If the division were not so considerable ; if the feelings of Gentlemen on both sides were less lively and strong ; in a word if the college had not in fact become a bone of contention between the Episcopalians & the Dissenters, I should have no hesitation as to the course I ought to take : that in my opinion the College shd. have nothing to do with the reasons & arguments in support of Episcopacy, or the Tenets of the Dissenters ; that a collegiate education was to fit the candidates for the difft. learned professions—and not to teach any of the Professions ; so far as the Evidence of the Chn. Religion was concerned, let it be inculcated, but as respects the difft. professions among chrns. leave the students to their own choice. Dr. Mason concurred in these sentiments—I asked whether if he shd. be Pr. he would think himself bound by his own particular Tenets or wd. be content to explain the ch. system as understood by all Xns? His answer was, that his own choice was made, that he however did not so regard the different modes of worship and forms of Discipline among christians, as to want charity for others, and in case he could not communicate in the Holy Sacrament with his own denomination, he shd. not decline doing so with Episcopalians and that he shd. willingly admit Episcopalians to his Communion.

That he shd. not think himself bound to go beyond the general inculcation of the ch. Religion, omitting the doctrines of this or the other Sect of Chns. ; that he was solicitous the question respecting the Pr. shd. be decided within 4 or 5 mos., as it would have a material influence upon the course of his future life ; that he had come to a conclusion, that the details in wh. he had been so long employed, might with equal advantage be performed by

an inferior man ; that he knew his own powers, that they exceeded what his present station required, & that he had resolved to quit it, and at 40 years of age to prepare himself for the Bar. This however was communicated in perfect confidence, and the resolution wd. depend upon his succeeding in obtaining the Presidency.

J. M. Mason to Rufus King.

(*Confidential.*)

Feby. 10, 1810.

My dear Sir :

Having attentively considered the subject of our conversation on Saturday, I submit to the candour which I have at all times experienced from you, the general views under which it has presented itself to my mind ; and I trouble you with my remarks in writing rather (than) in verbal communication, that there may be no mistake of my meaning and that further explanations, should they be necessary, may be facilitated.

If I rightly understood you "there has been a conversation among some of our episcopal friends relative to the college, and they have suggested an arrangement with regard to the Presidency, which they suppose may unite us all in a harmonious compromise." The arrangement as I recollect it, is the following—

"That the President continue to be in all times hereafter, as he has been in all times past, a member of the Episcopal church. That his office, however, shall be merely titular, and be interpreted simply as a compliment to that denomination. But that in order to provide for the due execution of a vigorous system of education, an additional officer, with the designation of *Vice-President* or any other which may be agreed upon shall be created ; shall possess all the power and receive all the emoluments, which are now intended for the president, and be, in fact, the efficient man. That this new officer shall be chosen out of a non-episcopal denomination, and that this arrangement securing a *nominal* president to the Episcopal church, and the *real* one to non-episcopal churches shall be permantly incorporated with the statutes.

"This *compromise*, being proposed by Episcopal gentlemen is thought to be sufficiently moderate on their part, and to be recom-

mended both by the reasonableness of the thing, and by analogous arrangements in Great Britain ; that considering the connection which has always subsisted between Trinity church and the college, and the large proportion of the college-revenue which is derived from her own donation of lands in this city, the sacrifice is as great as social courtesy can require—that what she shall retain is very little indeed ; but is still something ; that without it she shall have nothing ; and that it would be a source of pain to be excluded from the college altogether."

It is very possible that I may not have drawn correctly the subordinate lines of this plan ; but I believe I have preserved its principal features which are enough for us.

I confess, sir, that putting myself in the place of Trinity Church, and consulting only my feelings as a gentleman, conceding also that the *assumptions* in her representation are correct, and that the arrangements of the college ought to be a matter of courtesy, I have no hesitation in saying that her offer is both modest and liberal ; that it goes as far if not further than with her sentiments, I should incline to go myself, and that, if there did not appear to be very serious obstacles in the way, I for one would cheerfully meet her.

But in a matter of such high moment as the education of our youth I must lay aside individual feelings which are not dictated by self respect ; and acting as a Trustee of an immense public interest, must merge the man in the functionary and inquire how far a measure is likely to accelerate or retard the march of the Institution towards the eminence which we wish to see it occupy, regard being had to all its social relations.

When I sit down, under these impressions, to analyze the proposed arrangement and to calculate its probable effects, the very idea of a *compromise* strikes me unpleasantly. I cannot perceive where it is to find a natural place. The cause of letters is "one and indivisible." *Here* there can be no compromise, because there is no collision. The same result occurs in their common cause ; and whatever dissonance there may be in their ecclesiastical forms or modifications, they are equally concerned in the promotion of literature. Let us have as much warfare upon our Theological grounds as we shall think either profitable or amusing ; but, in the name of all that is generous, let the republic of letters be neutral

territory, where we can put off the polemic and the sectary, and intermingle as gentlemen & friends. Between *us* there can be no dispute on this head. But still it may be deemed expedient to secure the co-operation of all parties by means which shall soothe the feelings, or, which is the same thing, shall flatter the vanity of each. I own it and this must be the real compromise. The only question then is whether the arrangement proposed, will produce such a compromise, and, at the same time promote the prosperity of the institution. I think not and my reasons are these. 1. The charter under which we now act, has expressly abolished all preference of religious denominations in the affairs of the College. It received its present modification with the knowledge of Trinity church and with the concurrence if not by the suggestion, of some of her most distinguished members. Several of such members and all the Trustees belonging to other denominations accepted their seats in the board under the charter thus modified. The Legislature of the State has made considerable grants of money on the same ground; not one dollar of which would have been granted had the least suspicion existed that the Board of Trustees would ever attempt to close the avenues to *any* office in the college upon all denominations except one. Nor have I the smallest doubt, should the attempt be made and succeed, but that influence of various sorts would speedly be enlisted in sufficient strength to destroy the college altogether. It is not unknown to you, Sir, that certain intriguing men have been looking, for some years, with rapacious eyes upon the college-property, and are feeding themselves with the hope of getting it into their hands. Such a step as I am now considering would be to their Jacobinical Archimedes the fulcrum of his lever for overturning our little *world.*

Nor do I see on what Trinity church rests her claim to the gratification for which she stipulates. Her legal right was long ago extinguished by the charter. That instrument has been in force more than five and twenty years under her own eye; her vestrymen, her wardens, her priests & her bishops have assisted in its operations, and she has never objected to this day. If her conduct be not acquiescence in the extinction of her original preference, I am at a loss how to interpret human actions. To the donation of lands for the support of the college which she early

made, I cannot *now* attach such an appendage as she wishes, whether that donation be contemplated in form or in substance. That she had a right to annex any conditions she chose to a voluntary grant, is clear; but it is no less clear that one of the prevailing reasons moving her to that grant, was a desire and endeavour to give to her own ecclesiastical character a *real* as it already had a *legal* ascendency over other denominations. This can never be a reason of *concession* to her from those very denominations, who felt themselves aggrieved by her establishment above them. The substance of the grant will influence them as little as the form. Because she herself received in a grant from the crown the land on which Trinity church now stands, which was then much more than equal to her subsequent grant to the college; and because a tax for her support was levied upon the other denominations for more than 50 years before her own grant, so that she actually got from them, and in the most mortifying manner a full & ample *quid pro quo*. Every shilling of the valuation (£2000 sterling) which she set upon her grant to the college, has been repaid into her treasury out of the pockets of non-Episcopalians. The principle of our discussions is that, taking men and things as they *are*, we must labour to soften prejudice and humour predilections. But that same principle works both ways and what shall we gain by such an indulgence to Trinity church at the expense of rousing the pride and souring the spirits of other people? They *will* ask troublesome questions. They will go back to "tales of other times." They will associate with this titular dignity the idea of a latent purpose of future usurpation; and the very obscurity which covers it will minister to their suspicions, and conjure up ill-boding spectres to their imaginations. It is in vain to tell them that the privilege to be confined to Trinity church is a name, a feather, a pepper-corn. They will reply, that it is a badge of distinction recognizing, however delicately, the old superiority—that, with men of brain, names are often things—that a feather can answer all the purposes of a crown—and a pepper-corn is as much a tribute as a million of dollars. Let this mode of reasoning be irrelevant, let it be wild, let it be fanatical, if you will; still the feelings which call it forth exist, and are not to be argued out of the human heart. I am of opinion, therefore, that the projected scheme will only prove upon trial an apple of discord. That it

will awaken slumbering resentments ; that it will impart to Theological discussions a political complexion, and, instead of conciliating, will only exasperate. In this most portentous state of human society, when all the sound hearts and sound heads that can be marshalled against the inroads of profligate misrule are too few, the hazarding of such an issue is too desperate a game. Start a controversy on this head, and no man can tell where it shall terminate. The enormous wealth of Trinity church, indicated by not the wisest of all possible displays, breeds a more extensive uneasiness than she is perhaps aware. Consultations have been held on the subject of reducing it, and she has found friends in ecclesiastical opponents, because they are friends to social stability and dread the application of the strong arm of power to chartered rights. It is not impossible that the arrangement proposed might be a spark to a train of powder ; and it would be hard to calculate the extent of the explosion. 2. Considering the nature of our charter, the Trustees appear to me to be under a legal incapacity to adopt any such restriction of elegibility to the Presidency. There was such a restriction once and on the renewal of the charter it was expunged. To revive it, would be to create by an act of the board, a disqualification for a particular office in the very teeth of the charter itself. For, if the Trustees may restrict one office to a particular denomination, they may with equal authority restrict all, and thus reduce the provisions of the charter to a mere Nullity. To do it at all, the charter must be essentially altered, and an essential alteration introduced with a view of bestowing certain exclusive rights upon one denomination, is an experiment which I should hardly think prudent with a New York Legislature. 3. Supposing these difficulties removed, let us inquire how the new arrangement would work.

Inefficiency has been the bane of our college system ; and that inefficiency has grown out of the plan of limiting the choice of the chief officer to a particular denomination. She had not the proper men at her command. The presidential chair has been filled with weakness, and the college is almost good for nothing. The expedient proposed is exactly the same blunder under another form. You will indeed have two officers instead of one, but you will not double your chances of talent, for by the terms of the expedient you are to have *one* real president. Would it not

be preposterous to see an able Episcopalian mocked with a titular precedence while the effective power should be in the hands of a Presbyterian blockhead? For my own part I have no more affection for absurdity and feebleness in the shape of a Presbyterian than in the shape of an Episcopalian. If "the church" has not her full proportion of those articles, we can spare her what she wants. It is true, increase of population increases the mass of talent; that is, talent as a *raw material;* our education must be revolutionized before we shall be able to command much of it ready for use, and that species of talent which our institution, when put in a proper train, will require, is extremely scarce in the most matured nations. *Detur meliori* is my motto, and I should very reluctantly assent to any compromise which could abridge our range of choice, already very small, through our then intellectual population, by forbidding us to go into the Episcopal pale, for an efficient man. I would take him where I can get him, and premising that he be fit in other respects, would bound myself by nothing but a *protestant* limit. This obviates the fear of our Episcopal friends about their entire seclusion from the college, unless the proposed arrangement be accepted. They will narrow, not widen their own access to it, by their own plan. They propose to surrender the efficient power by way of securing the possession of inefficiency! This, *I* should call the most humiliating exclusion. But how are they excluded by the *Detur meliori*? They must either despair of ever producing the men; or they must suppose the board of Trustees to be a knot of vulgar sections. The first they will not, of course, admit; and all past experience cries shame upon the second. They have at this moment the whole faculty, excepting one; & have them with the concurrence of non-episcopal votes.

But to proceed; I do not relish the business of a double-headed body; Two co-ordinate executives are a solecism; and a government with one executive for action and one for shew, i. e. one executive and one non-executive is, a pantomime. A man of sense & spirit who should submit to be this toy, this top-knot, is in my view a contradiction; and it would not mend the matter to push him behind the scene, and let Punch run off with the Eulogy. The analogies quoted do not seem to be in point. I spend not a breath upon Phila. because nothing has no attri-

butes. The English Universities are no parallel. If a Peer of the realm be chancellor, & the acting authority be vested in a vice-chancellor, the system may go on well enough and may be no loser by a *nominal* head. But we have no Peers of the realm. The nominal and real head must be men of the same general standing in Society ; there is no immense distance of rank to keep them from collision by keeping them apart. There is no grandeur of ancient family, no influence of preponderating wealth, no extensive political patronage to shed down a lustre on the institution. Under such circumstances we cannot, like the Universities of Great Britain, afford to have a nominal head, though it be a foolish one. There is no dazzling brilliancy to hide his emptiness from the public eye. To model ourselves upon their platform in this particular would evince not that magnanimity which adopts wise plans & emulates great examples, but that petty affectation which makes itself ridiculous by aping a magnificence beyond its reach.

Look at it in another attitude. These two heads must reside near each other & come into frequent contact. If your system, good in itself, be inexorably maintained, there will always be some persons dissatisfied with its operation. They will at times be persons of influence. Is there no danger of their impeding the whole machinery by playing off one head against the other? Should both be strong men and honest, this small policy never would succeed. Even without such an embarrassment, let us suppose the nominal head to be a feeble, and the real head a powerful man. It is in the nature of littleness to be jealous, and to be dabbling with things that do not belong to it. Your nominal head would be forever in the way ; he would be the rallying point of all the pedagogues in the college and out of it ; and would contrive with their assistance to render himself a very intolerable nuisance. Reverse the case ; let your nominal head be strong and your real one feeble. Etiquette would never hinder such a man from interposing to preserve the great system of education, or to repair its injuries. In that case your "balance of power" would be overset, the very principle of your arrangement frustrated, & your head, who was to do nothing, have the weight of the concern upon himself under the most deplorable of all conditions, that of trying to make an absurd fellow do right.

Still further, the habits of our country, unacquainted with the double diplomacy of France, not being used to an ostensible and a real functionary, will associate the character of the college with that of the President. He will stand foremost in the public estimation ; you may explain a thousand times and your explanation will be forgotten. At public commencements and other special occasions, your president must take the lead, and be the prominent figure, unless you mean to make him the laughing stock for boys, a subject for caricatures. How, then, on the one hand, will an able man put up with all the compliments due to the ignorance or incapacity of his Vice ? Being constituted a scape-goat for iniquities not his own ? Or how on the other hand, will an able man submit to have the praise of his genuis & truth transferred to another who did nothing ? This *proxy-scheme*, for such it will be in the experiment, *cannot* answer. No man of intelligence & spirit will permit himself to be either applauded for what he does not deserve, or robbed of what he does. If he is the luminary in the system he will never allow an opake body, a smoked glass, to intervene between him & the eye of the spectator. He will not be viewed as if he were under an eclipse. Besides, whatever little notions may fill the heads of both the great vulgar and the small, you, my dear Sir, and every one who thinks largely, perceives that a man who is capable of performing the service which we should expect in our first officer, cannot shut himself up in the college alone. He will consider it in the twofold light of an *end* and of a *means*. But as it furnishes opportunity for the exercise of high talent in acting directly upon Society, it is only a *means*. No small *doer up* of lessons understands this. No one who understands it, will ever be a *doer up* of lessons, or a literary mill-horse. He will take his stand upon the great theatre of human life, and there is no keeping him from it. Now, no consideration will induce such a man, and such an one we want, to place himself behind a master of ceremonies, and play second fiddle to one whom, if multiplied by 1000 or 10,000, he could crush with his grasp. It is not in human nature. Such a man will be in your college *aut Cæsar aut Nullus*. There are very few among *secondary* men who would deign to accept the post of your *efficient* officer with a harlequin superior, dancing before him ; and he, to whom it would be an object of ambition, is of course, much *less* than harlequin.

Upon the whole, the proposed arrangement appears to me to have originated in that most fatal policy which sacrifices general principles to partial and temporary expedients ; and which it is therefore impossible for me either to approve, to support, or not to resist.

I have disclosed my sentiments with unreserved plainness ; not only because such a disclosure comports with the frankness of our conversations on matters of great interest ; and because I wish to lay before you the extent of my feeling on this particular subject ; but also, and chiefly, because the very liberal treatment I have received from your friendship ever since I have had the happiness of your acquaintance both justifies and requires a corresponding candour. You will give to my opinions and reasonings their just weight ; and should your results be different from my own, although I should regret the circumstances, it will not disparage in your mind, the freedom of my communications ; nor assuredly in mine, the respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your obliged & faithful

J. M. Mason.

CHAPTER XI.

King to Gore—Hopes the best if England moderate—King to Wilberforce—Thinks no incompatible Claims or Pursuits exist between the Countries—Hopes final Rupture will be avoided—Murray to King—Slave Trade—Troup to King—New York Mayoralty—King to Pickering—Jackson says temperate Conduct likely to prevail—King to Gore—Jackson likely to be withdrawn—England's Desire to live in Peace with the United States—Bonaparte's Views prevent Continental Peace—Pickering to King—England will show her Willingness to discuss Propositions from this Country—King to G. Morris—Presidency of Columbia College—Conditions on which the College holds its Property—Ingersoll to King—Fête by Daschkoff in Philadelphia—Mob caused by Crown in a Transparency—Trumbull to King—Mail opened in London—Denounces the Administration—Trumbull to King—European News—Siege of Cadiz—Sale of American Property in France—Berlin and Milan Decrees revoked—Probably English orders in Council will be modified—Mason to King—Proposition to lease Lots in rear of Columbia College—Duties of the President.

R. King to C. Gore.

February 19, 1810.

Dear Sir:

I have just received your letter of —— I will write a letter to Gr. whose sentiments on the Georgia business I am ignorant of—altho' I should be disinclined to discuss the subject with the view of changing any opinion he may have formed respecting it. I can have no objection to suggest to him considerations in favour of his abstaining from taking a share in the debate and confining himself to the giving of his vote.

From the time of the joint Report, I have been willing to believe that the public opinion has already, or is likely to undergo a favourable change in your quarter. The offering of Gerry as their candidate cannot have been very satisfactory, and does not manifest great confidence of success,—very much will depend upon the information received from abroad, before the election.

If England conducts with moderation, I think the good cause will succeed ; otherwise the worst may happen not only in Massachusetts but elsewhere.

I hear that a vessel is here arrived in a short passage from Lisbon, where news from England had been received up to the 3rd of January. I have heard but little of the news she is said to bring. Canning it seems has returned into the ministry, and holds the place of first Lord of the Admiralty. In a speech, full of insolence, by Bonaparte to the Legislature, he proclaims his purpose of persisting in the subjugation of Spain & Portugal from whence he announces the retreat of the Leopard as soon as he there shows himself.

It is this speech, or in a letter to the Emperor of Russia, in which he declares "that the U. S. of America are seriously and sincerely disposed to accede to their System against England."

As the news of the dismission of their minister must have reached England before Christmas, and I do not hear that the reports by the Lisbon vessel make any mention of anything unusual concerning this country, I am inclined to hope that no measure of irritation had been adopted, and if time be given for Reflection, I also hope that none such will be adopted. Logan is here, has taken his passage in the British Packet, and is understood to be going to England upon a similar errand to that which some years ago carried him to France. He has been at Washington and has Dispatches & Letters of Introduction from the Govt. to Mr. Pinkney. Bonaparte has repudiated his wife, if the news from Lisbon be true, to marry whom is not mentioned. Mr. Jackson, as I have heard, had some thoughts of making a tour thro' the Eastern States—You may however be assured, if he did intend it, he has relinquished his intention, and remains where he is until he receives the orders of his Govt.

farewell and believe me always & faithfully

Yrs.

Political extract from a letter to Mr. Wilberforce from R. King.

Feb. 21, 1810.

Upon the topic of general politicks, I am not sufficiently informed and therefore forbear to express any opinion ; but as respects the misunderstandings, which are permitted to exist

between our respective Countries, we have more information and therefore may speak freely. I, as you know, have long thought, as I still firmly do think, that there are no such interfering claims, or incompatible pursuits between the two nations, as should prevent their living harmoniously and in friendship with each other. Jealousies which in no small degree are unfounded, are entertained on both sides. Every step taken by either instead of being regarded in its fair and obvious light, is suspected as a measure designed to promote a concealed and unfriendly purpose. Instead of the salutary presumption of good faith in their mutual intercourse, the reverse takes place, and every proposition is suspected to be not only unfriendly but insidious. In this temper we are more likely to increase than to diminish our misunderstandings—and nothing short of a return to a more frank and confidential mode of discussing our differences will be likely to heal them. When this necessary change may arrive I know not—in the meantime I derive Consolation from the belief, that the U. S. will not declare war agt. Eng., nor enter into any such engagements, as, according to the maxims of your statesmen, shall oblige Eng. to declare war agt. the U. S. Notwithstanding the diplomatic quarrels and commercial regulations, which may happen or be proclaimed, I am not without hope that a final rupture will be avoided, and that things being left to the operation of time, temper and reflexion, the former harmony & mutual intercourse of the two Countries will be again restored and established.

With sentiments of the highest esteem etc.

R. K.

John Murray, Jr., to R. King.

New York 2mo. 23d. 1810.

John Murray Junior's respects wait on his friend Rufus King, and informs him, that the subject, contained in the letter from Willm. Willberforce, relative to the Slave Trade, has obtained careful attention, and the object of that communication put in train for further investigation. J. M. has taken the liberty to copy so much of the Letter as appeared necessary to be retained, and if agreeable, the Act of Parliament may usefully be kept, as some guide in giving further attention to the business. J. M. has

been very much gratified with the present reports of the Committee appointed by the Society, instituted for promoting the civilization and improvement of Africa; they are herewith returned with J. M.'s acknowledgement for the loan of them; and when his friend Rufus King may receive further information on this interesting subject, he would be very much obliged by the perusal thereof.

R. Troup to King.

Albany, 27 Feb., 1810.

My dear Sir:

. . . I have lately received a very affecting letter from *Varick* on the score of his treatment relative *to the office of mayor*. I have by me a lengthy letter in answer; in which I have detailed the facts. He will find from it that he has no cause whatever for being offended with any of his New York friends, and that his disappointment can only be traced to *vile intrigue and cabal*, the true causes, as generally believed here, of Radcliff's appointment. The arrangement to which all the influential men here were privy, and which was thought to have settled Varick's appointment, could only have been defeated by *intrigue* & *cabal*. This business has so disgusted me that I have withdrawn from all communion respecting appointments, and I therefore cannot suggest to you what is likely to be the further course with regard to New York. It is asserted by some who pretend to know, that Williams will not agree to Morris's appointment to the clerkship; and that nothing will be done with that office till after the election. From appearances Gardenier now stands a better chance for the office than Morris—Benson is here asserting the claims of his brother to the same office; but I conjecture without any probability of success. Benson says he would not have the office himself if offered to him. He is contending *for principle* and *this demands* his *brother's restitution*. A more objectionable doctrine than that of principle could not be broached. To urge it, is to make yourself ridiculous—and accordingly our friend the Judge is laughed at.

very truly etc.

Robert Troup.

R. King to Col. Pickering.

New York, March 5, 1810.

Dear Sir:

The Packet which arrived yesterday brings London news to Jany. 12. I have not yet had time to look over the communications from England, but I may state to you that Mr. Jackson says that he has much reason to be satisfied with what the Packet brings, and as respects the U. S. & G. B., that the temperate line of conduct, which he professes to have from the first recommended, is likely to prevail. . . .

yr. obt. Serv.

Rufus King.

R. King to C. Gore.

New York, March 6, 1810.

Dear Sir:

Notwithstanding the articles which you may observe in our newspapers, you may be assured that the Packet from England has brought nothing decisive respecting Mr. Jackson; from the best information that I have been able to collect there seems to be little doubt that he will be shortly withdrawn; the manner in which this shall be done, and not the measure itself, is said to have been undecided when the Packet sailed. The dismission of Mr. Jackson is regarded as a confirmation of what was before strongly suspected, that our administration are unwilling to settle the misunderstandings with England; preferring for some reason or other, that they should remain open. Circumstances of no inconsiderable significance have occurred in Europe, which have strengthened this opinion, and led moreover to the belief that the dismission of the Eng. minister has not been without concert with one of the Belligerents.

Under these convictions, with sentiments not hostile towards the U. S., but which however forcibly enjoin the preservation of respect for themselves, England may find the means of communicating to our Govt., & perhaps to the world the light in which she views the tenor & termination of the late Correspondence, may reiterate the expression of her desire to live in peace with the U. S., and to that end, by just arrangements, to do away all misunderstandings between the two Countries; and altho' the

Circumstances in which she withdraws her Minister, may prevent her from naming a successor, she may avow her readiness to receive and to discuss any such communications as the U. S. may think fit to make at London.

Whether this course will be literally pursued is not certain, but that its Spirit will be adopted seems highly probable.

With the exception of the Marq. of Wellesley's accession, the Cabinet remains as it was after the resignation of Canning & Castlereagh, and the death of the Duke of Portland—Austria again appears with overtures for a genl. Peace, which like her former ones must utterly fail ; the condition of Europe and the views of Bonaparte precluding every rational expectation that it can take place. Lord Wellington has asked for 30,000 Br. Troops, which have been sent, for the defence of Portugal. Girona surrendered on the 10th December, and the affairs of Spain seem to be very unpromising. The unfortunate King of Sweden is to be delivered up to the inexorable Bonaparte, who never forgives a personal injury. While we withdraw from the Ocean, a great trade is going on directly between Eng. & Holland, and between the former & France under French Licences. What object is to be promoted by the late interviews at Paris between the Merchants and the Ministers is not exactly understood. Whether the Danes are to receive a new modification by which they shall be adjusted to an expected League on maritime affairs, or be made to accomplish their end in the form of territorial regulations, remains to be disclosed. The mercantile opinion in London was, that the expected incorporation of Holland, the new association of the Hanse towns, and other measures affecting the northern Powers, indicate a firm purpose of excluding Eng. from all commercial intercourse with the Continent. Farewell, &c. R. K.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Washington, March 9, 1810.

Dear Sir :

Yesterday I was favoured with your letter of the 5th, and just now with that of the 6th.* The course which you suggest G. B. may pursue, seems to me to flow naturally from the acts of our own Government. After an examination of Mr. Jackson's com-

* The contents are nearly the same as in that to Mr. Gore of 6th March.

munications (which must embrace the whole of the correspondence, & probably some things which he would first make known to his own Government) the British Cabinet must see the sophistry, the captiousness, the shuffling, the madness and the *weakness* of ours : whence their momentary resentments will at once give way to contempt.

G. B. regarding her own great and permanent interests, which demand a good understanding with this country, will do no hostile act. From the beginning I supposed that withdrawing her minister she would not name another ; while as you suggest, good policy will lead her to manifest her willingness to discuss at London, any propositions our Executive may direct to be made. This will suit the Executive ; because it will enable him to draw out the negotiation to any length he pleases ; and I know not one man of sense who supposes that Mr. Madison (any more than Mr. Jefferson) really wishes an adjustment of our differences with G. B.

It is given out to day by the Clerks in the Secretary of State's office, that the British Cabinet disapproves his conduct here, and will send out a person of *rank* to succeed him : and people out of doors are amused with the idea, that the people about the palace are in high spirits in consequence of the news from London.

I trust the *facts* in the case will be communicated to Massachusetts, and prevent the mischief these Cabinet tales are calculated to produce. Every day exhibits some new folly in the Administration members of Congress—witness Eppes's convoy bill and Leib's resolutions &c. very truly yours,

T. Pickering.

R. King to G. Morris.

New York, March 21, 1810.

Dear Sir :

As in consequence of the absence from town of several members, the Board of Trustees met on Monday only to adjourn to Thursday the 5th of April, I am not sorry to find that my letter informing you of the time and place of meeting was not forwarded as I supposed it to have been.

You probably are apprized that the Conveyance by Trinity Church of the ground on which the College stands contains a con-

dition, that conformably to a provision of the Charter, requires that the President be an Episcopalian ; when the Charter of the College came under Revision after the war, the Legislature confirmed it, with certain exceptions, among which is the clause that excluded from the Presidency all non-Episcopalians. The Law proceeds *to grant* to the Trustees of Columbia College all the powers, that had been granted by the charter to the Governors of King's College, excepting the exceptions ; and also *grants* to the Trustees of C. Col., all the lands & property of which the Governors of K. Col. were seized or possessed. Formerly the Episcopal Church claimed in this State a pre-eminence which the Revolution has abolished. Our Episcopal Clergymen are nevertheless desirous to continue at the head of the College as a privileged order ; a pretension which you must at once see would meet with opposition.

An overture from the Episcopalians for a compromise was lately made through me to the non-Episcopalians ; I send you Dr. Mason's Reply, in order that you may be in possession of every circumstance relating to the College with which I myself am acquainted. The project of the compromise is essentially what Dr. Mason represents it to be, except that *the appointment* of an Episcopalian Pr. and non-Episcopalian Vice-Prest. was to be matters of understanding, and out door agreement among the Trustees, not a provision by statute. Having the pen in my hand, I add a query for your considn. whether the duties proposed to be laid upon the Professor of Languages are not above his strength ; and whether by way of relief to him, as well as of improvement to the students, it might not be well to charge the President with the classical instruction of the Senior class ?

Very faithfully yr. obt. Servt.,

RUFUS KING.

C. J. INGERSOLL TO MR. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, March 27, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . We had a grand imperial fête last night in our neighbourhood, which had like to have been turned into a republican auto-da-fé. M. & Made. Daschkoff,* to do honor to the anni-

* Minister from Russia.

versary of their master's coronation invited one third of Philadelphia to a ball—and to give the greater eclat, the front of the house was illuminated and an emblematic transparency exhibited from one of the windows, on which among other things, one of the most prominent was a crown. A crowd of vagabond boys were collected about the door the whole evening; but the constables who mounted guard—our gens d'armes, easily kept them in order. Just however as the company were descending to supper, word was brought that a mob of more magnitude, with a naval officer at their head, in full uniform, and armed cap-a-pie, were making regular advances, and demanded that the crown should be pulled down—á bas la couronne—Mr. Allyne Smith, of Russian memory, and several others went out and endeavoured to explain to the gentlemen in the mud, that the transparency was intended to do them honor; that one ship was sailing into Petersburg, another into Archangel and so on. But all in vain—the crown must come down: and it was not true that the ship was going into port, for her sails were aback—a mistake it seems, the painter, very innocently ignorant of setting sails, had made in the drawing. In the meanwhile the ladies were seated to a very good supper. The door was kept fast, and we did as well as it was possible in a besieged place with plenty of provisions. The result of the parley was, that finding the beleaguerers inexorable, the odious diadem should be removed. Accordingly M. Daschkoff himself with four others clambered up into the window and were surrendering as fast as they could, when the officer, who, to the disgrace of his country, proves to be a son of Genl. Hand of Lancaster and a Doctor in the navy, fired two pistols in quick succession, the ball from one of which passed through the window, where there were five persons, by great good fortune without doing any personal harm. The ball was found and handed about the rooms afterwards—among the rest I had it in my hands. The mob shouted victory and marched off. This was I think a scene at the same time the most disgraceful and ridiculous that ever occurred in this peaceful town. Our police is so extremely bad, that I have no doubt if the Mayor of the city had been acquainted with the affair, he would have been the principal rioter.

. . . Yr Most respectful & Sincere friend and Servant,

C. J. Ingersoll.

J. Trumbull to R. King.

London, April 16, 1810.

Dear Sir :

Our friend S. W. received by the last Packet, a parcel from you, covering one to F. Baring & one to me. These were sent to their address by one of the junior clerks. Mine did not reach me & some days passed before the mistake was discovered : a fruitless search then took place ; the parcel has not been found, but on the 12th instant (nearly a fortnight after the arrival of the packet), your letter to me dated Feby 16th came to S. W. by the penny post and was sent to me. I opened it carefully and found that it had manifestly been opened & resealed. From a passage of this letter, I suppose that the resolutions of the Massachusett's Legislature were enclosed with it in the missing packet ; these have been kept back. I presume that this kind office has been performed by our mutual friend the M ; U. S., who formerly told *me* "that he would do you all the injury in his power," and whose hatred I have now the honor of sharing with you almost equally. This has probably been done with the hope of finding something on which to ground a good democratic accusation, similar to that which was lately made against S. W. and his uncle P. There exists a direct channel thro' which this may have been done ; the man who formerly wrote in your office, & occasionally for me, has since written for the M ; U. S. & now writes for S. W., where of course he knows that your letters to me frequently pass—and he is poor—perhaps I am wrong in this suspicion, but it bore so strongly upon my mind, that I could not forbear using the only measure of revenge, which presented itself—I caused the following to be inserted in the Morning Chronicle of yesterday.

"Mr. T. presents his Compliments to the gentleman who has done him the honor of opening a packet addressed to him from America ; thanks him for having forwarded the letter which was enclosed (the clumsy resealing of which is, however, but a poor specimen of his dexterity in this art) and when He shall have *digested* them, will thank him to forward by the same safe conveyance, the resolutions of the Massachusetts Legislature and other papers which were under the same cover."

Be so good as to acquaint me what papers were under cover with your's of Feby. 16th. The Letter itself would do you honor

if it were published to the world, and does not contain one expression to which the Demon of party could affix blame.

The Conduct of our *Supernatural wisdom* is at least consistent —it has never by any accident deviated from its inherent & essential obliquity, into a Straight Line. All the smooth and plausible appearances which have been maintained here for some time past, and which were calculated to mislead honest well meaning people, are admirably explained by the cotemporary amicable cruize of the Etna in the W. Indies in search of the collector of New Orleans. Mr. Bainbridge has enforced the right of search with a vengeance. If he has not had a battle with & been taken by a British cruizer, I trust he will either be broke for misconduct, or some people will break their hearts from vexation. In truth this has been worse than that of the Chesapeake ; how cruel if (it) should have no better success ! ! !

The Devil himself (tho' Counseller Giles and his friends deny the existence of this gentleman) must be in the luck, if such exquisite policy, aided by the wisdom now assembled here, cannot produce some favorable result. We have the profound Dr. Logan, the superficial M. S. (who was Mrs. T.'s good or evil spirit the first summer we were in America) to aid the sublime Talents which were before upon the Spot. Melancholy however will it be if the intemperate folly of Massachusetts, the obstinacy of Connecticut, and the vile tergiversation of New York, aided by the rashness and precipitation of our most dear & great, & good friend the Emperor should blight at last the fair harvest which has been so long and so assiduously cultivated by our enlightened Statesmen.

You will see by the 10th Article of the Treaty between the Emperor of the West, & the King of Holland, that we have the glory of prolonging the existence of our Royal Sister Republic by merely the sacrifice of a little dirty pelf. O Exploit worthy of this age of Philanthropy & Reason ! O glorious administration, who with mild and pacific wisdom insisted that Holland was an independent nation and should be so considered—and so she proves to be—at our expence.

His Imperial and patriotic Majesty is married to a young wife and is I presume strenuously occupied in the laborious duty of providing a successor, whom he may educate to walk in his pious

footsteps, for the glory of France and the happiness of Mankind. . . .

Truly yours

J. T.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, 22 July, 1810.

DEAR SIR:

Since your favor of 3d April . . . I have not had the pleasure to hear from you. I find Democracy is completely triumphant with you; how will the power be employed? Will the Idiot ravings be still directed against this Country, and the Idiot affections still fondle & slaver Imperial France? I send by Mr. Fellows a few newspapers. The most interesting fact they contain is the abdication of the Throne of Holland by King Louis, and the formal annexation of that once powerful Republic to the Empire of France.

Great Events are passing in Spain and Portugal; the friends of human nature still hope & sanguine lovers of Ancient History stubbornly insist that no *people* can be conquered; they even quote the glorious days of our history. Perhaps the affairs of Spain are not at this day more desperate than were ours in Dec. 1776; & may God grant them union, energy and success.

Your faithfull

JNO. TRUMBULL.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

HAMMERSMITH, Aug. 14, 1810.

DEAR SIR:

. . . A few days ago arrived a packet from N. York, which was ordered by Mr. Jackson to sail suddenly and not to touch at Halifax. This uncommon circumstance led us at first to hope, that a favorable change had taken place in the opinions of the American Government. But not a word has yet transpired from which we can fortify these hopes; and we are left to fear that delusion is too firmly established there to yield to any means of Conviction, or rather to apprehend the complete confirmation of what I have long been disposed to believe, that America has her Schimmelpenninks, & that, for the punishment of her sins, is destined to suffer with the rest of the World.

The siege of Cadiz can scarcely be said to progress at all. The ephemeral King of Portugal, Massena, has commenced his operations for the conquest of his Kingdom—but he makes slow progress and appears to entertain a great respect for the British & Portuguese Troops opposed to him. The cautious conduct of Lord Wellington does him great honor and is calculated to inspire hope. He occupies very strong positions from which he cannot be dislodged but by great sacrifice ; and he seems to have placed his enemy in the necessity of practising that sort of war, for which they of all men are the least calculated—a war of posts and sieges —a system which would long since have put a stop to French prosperity, had it been adopted in the North & East of Europe.

Spain is by no means conquered, & if they are wise enough to persist in the partizan system which they have adopted ; and if the Cortez which are assembling at Cadiz, should prove to be well composed & act with wisdom, I shall not despair.

The sale of American property in France has been some time advertised, and is going on with great success. It proves an excellent stroke of Finance ; almost equal in principle and in productiveness to the mint which Robespierre established in the Place de la Revolution. I presume the good friends of his Imperial Majesty in the U. S. look forward with pleasing anticipation to the happy day, when by adopting a similar system they may at once punish that vile minority in and out of Congress, which has so often thwarted their plans ; and apply an easy & efficacious remedy to the disordered finances of the State—and their own. . . .

Your faithful Servant

JNO. TRUMBULL.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, August 25, 1810.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I enclose you two newspapers containing a letter from the French Minister to Mr. Armstrong announcing the affection of his Imperial Majesty for the Americans & declaring that Milan & Berlin decrees are revoked, &c.—judging from the effect which this hypocritical jargon has on the minds of our Country-

men here, I presume it will completely answer its obvious purpose of gulling "the best informed & most enlightened government upon earth."

Heaven defend us from the consequences of our own *supernatural wisdom*. It is the general opinion here that the orders in Council will be also & in similar style revoked ; but that neither the right nor practise of blockade will be abandoned. Lord Wellington keeps Massena still at bay—avoiding a battle—& tenaciously keeping to strong positions in the mountains. The Dysentery & Putrid Fever have attacked the French Troops, and cause great mortality. With such aid the British Troops may retain their position, notwithstanding the numbers of their enemy were so superior at the opening of the Campaign.

Yours faithfully

JNO. TRUMBULL.

J. M. MASON TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, July 10, 1810.

DEAR SIR :

The board of Trustees is to meet on Monday the 30 inst. The report of the Committee of leases in favor of leasing a tier of lots back of the college will then be decided on. There appears a fixed determination in some members of the board, to resist every measure calculated to promote the true interests of the College ; and to obtain, by wearisome delay, what they cannot accomplish by open and manly effort. As this policy is now too palpable to admit of any doubt, should our delicacy, as gentlemen, consent to yield further advantages which we know are to be turned against us ? Ought no steps, proper in themselves, to follow each other in rapid succession, and leave no time for the growth of machinations, which owe all their strength to the courtesy or the tardiness of others ? It will be necessary to settle the time of assembling the committee for preparing the statutes, and also to agree upon a report which we were recently directed to make of a suitable form of address to the public with a view of obtaining subscriptions. On every account I wish much to have some conversation with you & especially to see you at the meeting of the board.

with truth & affec. your faithful & obt.

J. M. MASON.

J. M. Mason to R. King.

N. York, August 31, 1810.

Dear Sir:

. . . As several members are out of town, there may be some difficulty in forming a board on Monday. I hope you will arrange matters so as to be here and to bring Mr. Bogart.

My friends who are engaged in the plan of building a new church, find the most extreme difficulty in procuring a proper site, and especially one, where they can commence building this fall. They have repeatedly, since I was at your house, solicited me on the subject of the college ground, and I have as repeatedly avoided giving them any encouragement. They informed me however on yesterday morning, that they shall try it on Monday. Some gentlemen, who are wholly opposed to the general leasing of the lots, will readily agree to this proposal. There is reason to think that the sensation to be excited among some of our friends by such a grant, will not be so strong as we apprehended. Myself and another gentleman have severally conversed with one who has been against us on every *great* principle agitated in the board, and although he very properly declined committing himself absolutely without leisure for reflection, declared that he did not perceive any reasonable objection. Should Æolus blow no blast, I shall count according to the opinion you were good enough to express, upon your friendship in this matter. I shall trouble you to mention it to Mr. Bogart, and if you shall feel yourself at liberty, to gain his concurrence.

Your faithful & obedt.

J. M. Mason.

J. M. Mason to R. King.

New York, Nov. 6, 1810.

My dear Sir:

Yesterday was the stated meeting of the Trustees. I did not get there till 12. I found the trenches opened. The design of defeating all the effective parts of the plan for the College was more apparent than ever. A vigorous effort was made to destroy the obligation upon the President to conduct the studies (classical) of the Senior year. A motion to strike out the clause was with-

drawn, and an amendment proposed. viz. that the President should perform that duty "by himself or *by a substitute*"!!! The design was too obvious; no pleadings could render the amendment plausible and it perished.

I moved to replace among other duties of the President, a course of lectures on the subject of Divine Revelation. After a long debate it was resolved by a majority of 3 (eighteen present, ——— not voting, Varick in the chair & and only six rising in favour of the amendment), and all your clergy against it, it was resolved that there shall be no Christianity taught in Columbia College in *any* shape.

I deeply regretted your absence and that of Mr. Morris. We have gone through the *duties* of the President, which stand exactly as reported; and partly through his *powers*, where was another conflict. Mr. H. fastens upon everything which throws strong power into the hands of our executive, coupled with proportionate responsibility; and is most unremitting in his exertions to take away the reality of both under the *appearance* of maintaining them. If he succeed all our labour is lost, and every thing reverts to its averted lethargy. "By degrees"—is the Maxim; and out of door manœuvering the policy. Nothing can be more evident. *Tomorrow* the 7th inst., being *Wednesday*, we resume at 10 o'clock the discussion of the President's powers. Let us be favoured with your attendance. Now or never is, I believe, the alternative. I should have been to see you, had I not been unexpectedly called from home to see my sister Mrs. Brown and her two children, who have come from Kentucky to spend the winter with us. . . .

with real regard your obt. faithful

J. M. Mason.

CHAPTER XII.

Gore to King—Despondent—People must submit to the System of the Rulers—Trumbull to King—Folly and Punishment in following Guidance of Jefferson—King to Gore—Jackson's Dismissal—Relations with England embarrassing—King—President's Proclamation—King—President's Charge against England of Breach of Faith—King—French Decrees and English Orders—King—Message of the President—King—Analysis of Randolph's Speech on Erskine Resolutions.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Nov. 11, 1810.

My dear Friend:

. . . Unfortunately for our Land, there is no prospect that I can perceive, of a man's promoting either his own welfare, or that of his fellow-citizens by taking any interest in public measures. The Degradation of our Nation and the corruption of the public mind & of the Morals of Individuals are constantly increasing. In this State for a long time, the support of Mr. Jefferson's weak & wicked systems was confined to the ignorant and needy, & the profligate. The Defection of the former President has given an impudence to the Democrats, and the miserable Vanity of a lucky Merchant affords a gloss to their Baseness & supplies the means of filling their Ranks and adding to the Infamy of the Community. When & how this state of things is to be changed is far beyond my Conception: that it will not be within my time is certain & I exceedingly doubt if within the days of any who are now alive. . . .

I have not been in town since Monday of the last week, and am therefore unable to say what, if any, sensation has been caused by the President's Proclamation & the Secretary's Circular. Therefore, presume none at all—Our men of reflection are aware,

that the Interest & Honour of the Country are of no Consideration with our Rulers, & that the Welfare of the commercial part of the Community, if possible, is of still less importance—They therefore submit themselves to their destiny with the same listlessness as did the Victims of Robespierre to the Guillotine. The democrats will use it as an Engine to increase our love of France & Hatred of England, & the indifferent men, which are a large Class, as a nice Trick of Necromancy, by which we can obtain a free trade to the Continent of Europe, & show our superiority to both Belligerents,—our Merch'ts do not, as yet, according to what I have learned, send many Vessels to the Dominions of the Tyrant.

Your affectionate friend,

C. GORE.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, Nov. 21, 1810.

DEAR SIR :

. . . We hope to receive the most favorable and decisive intelligence from Lisbon. The King of Sweden *per tot discrimina rerum* is at length safe in this country, reserved I hope for great & useful purposes. The King of England whom I saw two months ago in such fine health, has been broken down by the protracted sufferings of his favorite daughter. His health & mind sank under the affliction ; but now that all is over, he is slowly recovering.

I lament to see the extent of folly in our countrymen ; not but I expected them to be again the Dupes of Bonaparte's policy—and of their own lust of filthy lucre. There is no end to the vile infatuation which Providence is employing to operate its own punishment. From the days of Genet to this, we who boast of being the descendants of men who braved all dangers for the sake of Freedom & Religion, have been worshipping a native, who abolished Divine worship, and established Atheism by one Decree and Despotism by another. Is it consistent with the nature of things, with that inseparable connexion which Providence has established between crimes & punishment, that this should escape ? No, my friend ; an unhappy country must expiate her guilt by suffering, and since *Pestilence* (which followed close upon the first

development of national crimes) has not sufficed to recall us to our duty, delusion has followed, and Evils of deeper importance will follow. . . .

Your faithful servant,

JNO. TRUMBULL.

R. KING (probably) TO C. GORE.

NEW YORK, Dec. 6, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR:

Having come to town last evening & intending to return to Jamaica this morning, I have had no opportunity of learning what others think of the message; but for myself, I feel deeply impressed with the weight and consequence of this State Paper.

A charge of broken Faith against England is of a nature to engage the universal attention & feelings of their People. If their ministers have dishonoured the nation, the nation shd. redeem their Honour by the sacrifice of the criminals. If the ministers can vindicate the national Faith, they are by every motive that can influence human affairs bound to do so; and in this case they ought to seek reparation for the injury of a false accusation. How our relations with England will be affected, I cannot determine, but they appear to me to be now placed in a condition far more embarrassing, and even critical, than at any antecedent period. The general tone of the message is alarming, upon the subject of Jackson's behaviour, the import of what the President says is this, —"You have sent us a minister who wants good manners, and for his rudeness we have kicked him out of the country; if however you will send another who will carry a civil tongue in his head, we will receive him." Shd. another minister be sent, it must be an admission of Jackson's delinquencies, and an implied engagement that the new one will behave better.

Yrs., R. K.

PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

The President has committed the same fault in his late Proclamation concerning France, that he did in his former Proclamation respecting England. In both he departed from the plain Text of the Law and issued his Proclamation, not upon the Ex-

istence of a Fact, on which alone he had authority to do so, but upon the Engagement, or Promise, in the one case of an unauthorized Ambassador, and in the other of a disavowed Minister of State. For admitting, contrary to our opinion, that the Duke of Cadore's Letter of August may be construed to be an unconditional Promise, that the Berlin and Milan Decrees should be effectually repealed on the 1st of November; it is now officially ascertained that they were not so repealed on that day; of course the Promise, or which is the same thing, the minister is disavowed, and the Fact, asserted in the name of the President, turns out to be not true.

On the faith of the President's first Proclamation, Property of a very large amount was shipped from this Country to Ports, from which by the British orders in Council we were excluded; and had these Orders been enforced, as in strictness they might have been, (Erskine's arrangement being unauthorized) our losses would have been immense. This did not happen; for England at the same time that she disavowed Erskine's arrangement, suspended the Orders in Council in favour of all American Vessels, which before the knowledge of the disavowal should have sailed for the blockaded Ports. In consequence of this equitable determination, not only were our merchants saved from loss, but in some cases they made very advantageous Voyages. Compare this Conduct of England, of hated, execrated England, with the recent conduct of beloved and applauded France; upon the Faith of the Duke of Cadore's Letter (vouched even by our President) written under the Eye and direction of the Emperor and published in the French official Gazette, our ships with valuable Cargoes have entered the Ports of France. To the astonishment of their owners they find that the Berlin and Milan Decrees are not repealed; the officers of the Government seize and detain them; and the Plea of having acted upon a confidence in the Imperial word, instead of procuring for them Protection, exposes them to derision; no Order has been passed to save from loss those who confided in the royal Promise; on the contrary their Credulity has been scoffed at, and the Property basely and dishonestly plundered.

Tho' the Virtuous and disinterested, the moderate and benevolent Bonaparte may treat thus contemptuously the friendless

and unprotected, the degraded and dispirited Citizens of a free Country, have they nothing to hope from the power and affection, the elevation and generous sentiments of their own Government? Or are Republics an inferior and debased species of Government, whose citizens may with impunity be robbed, imprisoned and scourged by the slaves of despotism?

Suppose that one of our Countrymen, who still retains impressions derived from the Examples of better Days, should represent to Congress, that subsequent to the President's Proclamation he had engaged in a voyage of great value to France, that upon his arrival in that Country, instead of finding that the Berlin and Milan Decrees had been repealed and had ceased to operate, as the President had declared would be the case, he found them in full Force, and that his ship and cargo had been seized and confiscated for having violated those Decrees; that, as he confided in the official Declaration of the President, and in consequence thereof had lost his property, he prayed Congress to compensate him for his losses; what Congress would decide on such an application, we cannot beforehand tell; but looking at the Principles of Justice for an answer, looking at the Example of other Governments, and looking even at the conduct of England, we know what ought to be their decision.

In considering the President's Message and the Documents which accompanied it, the matter which they contain in respect to England, may be divided into two distinct parts; the first, comprehending the charge which the President has made, of a breach of faith on the part of England in not confirming the arrangement signed by Mr. Erskine; and the second, the dismission of Mr. Jackson on the charge of disrespect to the Government of the U. States. Each of these charges are important; the first, however, beyond all comparison is the most weighty and must have been intended, and unless honor be a jewel lost from the British Crown, will be sure to produce the most decisive Consequences.

Between belligerent nations we sometimes hear of mutual charges of a breach of faith—tho' until the perilous and fearful times in which we live, these recriminations were rare even between Enemies and, when made, called for the most authentic expositions of the conduct which occasioned them. Anonymous

publications in the newspapers, insolent and unmeasured discourses in popular meetings, and even in legislative bodies, however unpracticed in other countries and disreputable in our own, serve rather to exhibit the coarseness of our manners & vulgarity of our tastes, than to produce the animadversion of foreign Powers.

But the President of the United States is considered by the Constitution, and must therefore be regarded by foreign powers, as the Representative of the Nation—in him are vested the exclusive superintendence, control and direction of our foreign affairs. When he speaks therefore upon this important subject, it is not as an individual, but his voice is the voice of a Nation, heard and considered throughout the world.

We may question the wisdom, the prudence, the value, the wealth, or the power of a Nation. These are attributes worthy of esteem and highly to be prized. But a nation may be deficient in one or all of them, and still be a virtuous, beloved, esteemed by others and honorable nation. But a nation that can suffer its integrity, its public faith and honor to be openly and solemnly impeached, without making every exertion in its power to vindicate its reputation, justly & unavoidably loses its consideration in the estimation of all other nations by her acquiescence, becomes convicted of dishonor and merits the degradation inseparable from so foul a reputation.

Whatever may be believed by certain men in this country, there are myriads of men in Britain, who are neither princes nor nobles, and who neither fill nor desire public offices, who believe with pride and confidence that the integrity and public faith of their nation are as unquestionable and unblemished as the virgin's fame. With the divisions and parties of Parliament and ministers, these men have no share ; they belong to their country and not to its factions ; they love that country, because they are persuaded it is a virtuous and honorable one. It is not for Ships, Colonies, or Commerce that this body of men would beat their plough-shares into swords. Money never was in their estimation a legitimate cause of war, whether it be thousands or millions. They think, and they think justly, that no nation ought ever to go to war for money, except so far as its acquisition or defence is connected with honor. It is honor, reputation, a good name

which are alone worth fighting for—and no nation that will not fight in their defence, can enjoy them.

With the broad shield of England exalted before their eyes, and the object of their affections, what will be their feelings, what will be the sentiments of the whole nation, when they look upon the foul blot that is cast upon it by the President of the United States?

French Decrees & English Orders.

It may appear to many wholly useless to add to what has been written & spoken upon this subject. The current of almost every thing which has been published, since the Duke of Cadore's Letter, has been of the same tendency, and strengthened by the Decisions of the President & of Congress, have served to produce a general opinion that France has revoked her Decrees, while England, contrary to good faith, refuses to rescind her Orders. If such be the Fact, there is at least, the appearance of an apology for the wretched condition of the country; and our Rulers even may claim to be in some degree exempt from the charge of Ignorance or Corruption.

It is not to be doubted, that the calm & impartial examination of the subject, momentous as it certainly is, and influential as it undoubtedly will be upon the liberties & character of the country, is a task of extreme difficulty, is a labour not only hopeless of reward, but which exposes him who engages in it, to uncandid & disingenuous imputations.

The prejudices, in favour of one, and against another foreign power, have warped, if not destroyed, the impartiality of the public tribunal; and men whose minds remain free are discouraged from making those efforts in favour of Truth & Justice, which the dangers upon whose brink we stand would otherwise impel them to make—quiet men, whose personal prudence is the ruling motive of their conduct, are from the hope of ease deterred from expressing their sentiments—office-seekers & those who desire popular favour, and are unwilling to incur popular displeasure, hold their peace. Men of sound understanding and who perceive the delusion of the times and the gulf which opens to receive us, doubting the impartiality or the capacity of the People, resign themselves to an unmanly despair & like the ignorant clown, call upon Jupiter for help and deliverance.

The ruinous system of Commercial Restrictions commenced in Decr. 1807,—its different modifications, antecedent to May 1810, are for the sake of perspicuity, passed over, in order that we may state as plainly as we are able the origin of things. The law of May 1810 relinquished the prosecution of the Embargo, and non-intercourse schemes, and after closing the Ports of the U. S. against the armed vessels both of France & England, by its fourth section provides "that in case either G. Britain or France should before the 3d day of March 1811, so revoke or modify her Edicts, as that they should cease to violate the neutral Commerce of the U. S., which fact the President should declare by Proclamation, and if the other nation should not in 3 months thereafter so revoke or modify her Edicts in like manner, then the non-importation sections of a former Law were to revive & operate against such other nation, and our ports were thenceforth to be opened to the armed vessels of the Power, which by the President's Proclamation should be declared to have so modified or revoked her Decrees."

We forbear to express our opinion of the unconstitutional encroachments which this Law makes upon Executive power: the President acquiesced in it (and acting under a Law of the U. S. or as an agent of Congress and not in virtue of his constitutional power) he, in pursuance of its enactment, communicated the provisions of the Law to both France & England.

It certainly was the Right of the U. S., as of every neutral nation, to trade with all nations in times of war as well as peace, with the exception in time of war, of trade with a belligerent in contraband goods, and to blockaded ports. The French Decrees and English orders abridged, not to say destroyed, this Right so far as regards our trade with both of them. Altho' we profess to have a clear, and as we believe, a correct opinion concerning the retaliatory character of these Decrees and Orders, we *decline expressing it*, because it would divert public attention from the important object of this analysis.

Message of the President.

So far as regards England, Mr. Pinkney's Letters relate to two points, one the successor of rank and talents to Mr. Jackson, the other the orders in Council.

As to the first every man of honorable feelings and national spirit, must be sick and disgusted with the overtures, intimations, prayers and menaces which have been employed to engage England to send another minister to this country. The apologies and twistings, the alternate hopes and fears which Mr. P. has manifested upon this subject are humiliating and offensive.

The case is a plain one ; if the Govt. thinks the omission to send another minister is disrespectful, their remedy is at every moment in their own hands ; let them positively instruct Mr. Pinkney to return home ; in which case he must do so ; without it no one who reads his letters upon this subject, deficient as they are in good manners and becoming language, will believe that he has any intention to leave his post. Endless words and phrases and petty altercations upon a question, which might at any moment be safely, and with dignity decided, are anything but what they should be and evince more than any other course the utter weakness and indecision of these who prefer this course.

With regard to the second point, the Orders in Council, without saying one word respecting their justice or expediency, we are called to give our attention to the provisional promise of Eng. to repeal them as soon as France repeals her Decrees. Mr. P. in his third letter on this point, claims the repeal by England on the principle of good faith, or because she is bound to perform her promise. To prove that the promise is binding, Mr. P. is bound to prove, and contends that he has proved, that the French Decrees are repealed ; in other words that their operation has absolutely ceased. It is curious enough to remark the similitude of Mr. P.'s efforts on the present and on a former occasion, in which a question was raised and discussed with much zeal, whether the Berlin and Milan Decrees were anything more than mere municipal Regulations, which France was free to make, and which no other nation might complain of. It will be recollected that this Doctrine was asserted and maintained in their Courts, in order to prove that England, having no ground of complaint, could have no right to retaliate by her Orders in Council.

Unfortunately France was consulted and Bonaparte answered, that as the Decrees were general, and not confined to the Territory, no exceptions could have been intended and therefore that none

existed. So on the present occasion, while Mr. Pinkney is labouring to prove that the Berlin and Milan Decrees are unconditionally repealed and have wholly ceased, the Grand Judge, by a letter to the Tribunals, informs them that the American vessels which arrived after the 1st of November are in virtue of those Decrees sequestered, and that in case the U. S. shall have actually performed a Condn. connected with the notification of repeal, they will be discharged from the Principles of these Decrees. It is therefore quite probable, as these letters are inserted in the French newspapers, that they will have reached England before Lord Wellesley answered Mr. P.'s letter. In which case he will have nothing more to do, than to send him a Copy of these Letters by way of answer, and conclusive answer, too, of that Min. Letter.

R. King's Analysis of Randolph's Speech in Favor of the Erskine Treaty.

"*Homo qui erranti comiter viam monstrat.*"

Ennius ap. Cic.

Act of the U. S. of May 1st 1810, restores intercourse to the power which first revoked or modified its decrees, so as that they shd. cease to violate the Neutral Com., of the U. S., and three months after established their non-importn. agt. the other which shd. not have so revoked etc.

Aug. 5th, Cadore announced that the Decrees of B. & M. were revoked to take effect Nov. 1st., provided the Br. Gov. shd. revoke its orders, and renounce its new principle of Blockade, or the U. S. shd. resist the Pretention.

Each had promised a revocation of its Decrees, when the other revoked theirs, and Eng. promised to proceed "pari passu" with France in the Revocation.

The Cadore letter does not state that the Decrees wd. absolutely cease on Nov. 1., nor does it follow the former promise that they shd. cease, when the orders of Council ceased, or in case of their continuance, when the U. S. shd. resist the orders in Council. Had the announced revocation been upon this proviso, we are assured by Marq. W. that the orders wd. have been repealed even upon the evidence defective as it seemed to be. But the Fr. added another and a new Condition—that Engd. shd.

renounce her new principle of Blockades, or that the U. S. shd. resist it.—This new principle is described in the Berlin Decree and England asserts that instead of a new principle it is old and sanctioned by Law & usage ; she therefore refused to renounce it ; and the U. S. enforced the non-importation to compel them to renounce, or by way of Resistance to, the Practice of Blkades.

In order to understand this portion of the Correspondence, we must cite the Case wh. the U. S. have selected as including the new principle of Blk. asserted. This case is the Blkade of May 1806 notified to Monroe. The U. S. allege that this was (and if still in existence, is) an unlawful Blk., because it was the blk. of many leagues of French & Dutch Coast, to the maintenance of wh. an adequate force was not and could not be assigned. England admits the Principle on wh. the U. S. contest the validity of the Blk., but deny the matter of fact, and assert the force to have been a competent one. They admit that no blockade is valid, unless an adequate force is assigned to maintain it, or in other words, they fully allow that a Blockade on paper, and which is not maintained by a force sufficient to enforce its observance, is a nullity ; that it has no foundation in public Law, and that to say it had would be an attempt to establish a new principle in the Law of Nations—an attempt which they explicitly disclaim and in regard to the Blk. of May 1806, which is now merged and included in the orders of Council, England declares should the orders of Council be revoked, that the Blockade of May, if continued, shall be maintained by an adequate force.

In this view of the subject ; how has it happened that the Blk. of May 1, 1806, wh. did not offend us when established, which seems to have been adopted as a mere device to enable us to carry on what was called the Colony Trade, which we never complained of when in operation, but under wh. we were enabled to prosecute a most advantageous trade, how, we ask, has it happened that this Blockade, when merged in the Orders in Council, founded as they profess to be, on a totally dift. principle, is made the subject of unsupportable Controversy on the part of the U. S. ? There is but one reason which can be assigned, which is that the views and policy of France prescribed this Course, while the honor & welfare of the U. S. forbad its adoption.

When one power ceased to violate our Neutral Com., & the other continued to violate it, the Law authorized the Pr. to open the intercourse with one and to close it with the other—two causes of violation of our neutral Com. were alleged agt. Eng—the orders in Council and the new Principle of Blk. as exemplified in the Blk. of May 1806.

Concerning the orders of Council, there is the most satisfactory reason to conclude that they wd. have been revoked, had not the U. S. coupled with their Demand, a Demand of the Renunciation of the Principle of Blockade that is described in the Berlin Decree & which the Emp. calls new.

The Controversy with Eng. is then narrowed to this single point. The Chesapeake affair is settled, the subject of seamen is held out of question for the present; the orders in Council will be immediately revoked, admitting the French Decrees to be inoperative as regards us upon the ocean, when we confine ourselves to their mere revocation, and the real matter in dispute is the *new principle* of Blockade.

Now I do assert, and the documents bear me out in doing so, that so far as respects the Case selected by the U. S. namely Mr. Fox's Blk of May 1806, there is no disagreement between the U. S. & England respecting any Principle whatsoever. We contend that the Blk. was invalid, because it was not maintained by an adequate force. England admits our Principle, but denies our Fact. Upon this plain and actual state of the Case, can any one suggest that there is any principle, either new or old, in dispute between the U. S. and Eng.? Concerning a Fact they disagree—a fact of past date and not one of present existence—a fact that never was of any significance to the U. S., and about wh. when it existed, we made no enquiry nor complaint,—but which is now brot. forward to promote the views of France, and to keep asunder two countries wh. their respective, best and dearest interests require shd. live in harmony with each other.

Mr. R. has great merit for the stand he has made. I certainly do not envy the feelings of certain men whose unworthy views he unmasks: I expected better things from them—But Mr. R.'s manner, forcible as it must be, is not analytical; this property of intellect belongs to more disciplined, perhaps inferior minds to his; he does not condescend to dissect, separate and ex-

pose the fallacious parts of his opponents' Discourses: his speeches are not a continuous application of argument, but his ideas strike in bounds the minds of his hearers. We supply this defect by presenting the public with the foregoing analysis.

In a paper enclosed in the above are the following memoranda—in R. K.'s writing:

From the Report of the Conversation with M. G. & Son, it appears

1. The Amer. Govt. is prepared on the revocation of the orders in Council, contemporaneously to withdraw on its part the interdiction of the harbours, and all non-intercourse & non-importation Acts as regards G. B., leaving them in force as with respect to France, and the powers wh. adopt or act under her Decrees.

2. That during the present war Amer. will renounce the colonial trade.

3. That Br. shps. of war may enforce the Amer. Laws.

As the 1, & 2 are suggestions of the Amer. Mer., and as Mr. P. has recently expressed to me his opinion, that there will be no indisposition on the part of his Govt., to the enforcement, by the naval power of G. B. of the regulations of Amer. with resp. to France & the countries to which these regulations continue to apply; but that his Gov. were aware that without such Enforcet., those Regns. must be altogether nugatory, I flatter myself there will be no dify in obtaining a distinct & official Recognition of these conditions from the Amer. Govt.; for this purpose you are at liberty to communicate this Despatch in extenso to the Amer. Secy. of State.

Not Jefferson, but the Pr. & his Mins. G. & S. made the first overture to Erskine to recall the orders, the U. S. repealing her Embargo., Non-importation & Procn. and imposing the same agt. France, renouncing the carrying trade, and as Pinky. proposed to allow Eng. to enforce our Law,

"Positive assurances of a disposition to come to a complete and cordial understanding with G. B.

"The system of retaliation his Majesty must unquestionably continue to maintain, unless *the object of it* can be otherwise accomplished."

"After the professions of the Amer. Minrs. of a sincere desire to contribute *to that object* (of the Retaliation) in a manner wh. shd. render the continuance of the orders unnecessary, it is thought right to afford to the Amer. Govt. an oppy to explain its meaning and give a proof of its sincerity."

The extension of the Indiction of the Amer. Harb. to the Shps. of war of Fr. as well as of G. B., an acceptable symptom of Impartiality & the first that has been manifested by the Amer. Govt. The like Extension of the Non-Imp. Act to other Belligs., is equally proper in this view. These measures preclude those preliminary objections wh. must otherwise have precluded any useful or amicable Discussion.

CHAPTER XIII.

Pickering to King—Main's Thorn Hedges—Trumbull to King—Foster, Minister from England—King to Pickering—Thorn Hedges—Danger to Judiciary in New York—Pickering to King—Hedges—Democratic Senators see no Subserviency to France in President's Proclamation—Trumbull to King—French Retreat in the Peninsula—Bonaparte wants Money and Men—Foster's Mission—Pinkney and the Prince Regent—Gore to King—Complaint that King does not take more active Part in New York—Trumbull to King—French steadily retreating—War between France and Russia—Madison Scored—Temple to King—Hopes for Conciliatory Measures—Hobart to King—His Statement about Jones—King to Hobart—Case of Jones—Competency of the Bishop's Court—T. L. Ogden to King—Jones's Case—Sperry to King—Glebe Lands in Vermont—King to Porter—On present State of Public Affairs—Does not consider the French Decrees revoked—Impressment—Is our Honor more assailed by England than by France—Would oppose War with England.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Washington, Dec. 27, 1810.

Dear Sir :

I inclose a subscription paper for a treatise on the American Hedge-Thorn by Thomas Main. I have seen Mr. Main repeatedly in the course of the last four or five years, at his residence near Georgetown. He is a sensible Scotchman, a well informed & practical nurseryman. A small pamphlet he published a few years since on the same subject, is a clear evidence of his ability to write correctly and usefully on the subject : after several trials he has found the Species of Thorn he now cultivates to be superior to any other foreign or indigenous. It is incomparably superior to the English white Thorn, *at least in this country*. I have seen the growth of both, in hedges on the ground occupied by Mr. Main, where that superiority is manifest. I have also seen Mr. Lyman's English white thorn hedge at Waltham, which by

the last of August had lost half its leaves, & the residue was withering ; while mine at Wenham, procured from Mr. Main, remained in lively verdure, & so continued to the beginning of November of the present year. Mr. Gore has the English white thorn ; but having seen Main's American Hedge-Thorn at Mr. Quincy's & Mr. Lowell's, was so struck with its excellence as to have ordered twenty thousand seedling plants to be sent to him the ensuing Spring.

The object of these details is to satisfy you, and thro' you, gentlemen of your acquaintance and some liberal booksellers in New York, that Mr. Main should be encouraged and enabled to publish his large treatise on the subject. . . .

To many parts of New York—particularly Long Island—*hedging* is of incalculable importance, hence booksellers in your city can surely run no risk in subscribing for one or two hundred copies and such subscriptions, with similar ones in Philadelphia & Boston, will enable Mr. Main to publish his book without delay.

Yr. obedt. Servt.

T. PICKERING.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, Feby. 18, 1811.

DEAR SIR :

. . . You will observe that *Mr. Foster*, who was in America with Mr. Merry, is appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. One stumbling block is thus removed ; but I have neither hope nor expectation that he will succeed in removing the others which opposed the good understanding of the two Nations.

Lord Wellington is by far a more important agent in the negotiation than Mr. Foster can be, or even *Lord Aberdeen* would have been to whom this promising situation is said to have been offered. . . .

Yours faithfully

J. T.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

N. YORK, February 24, 1811.

DEAR SIR :

I have for a long time omitted to reply to your letter enclosing Mr. Main's subscription paper. Having by personal application obtained a dozen or fifteen subscribers, I put the proposals into the hands of a bookseller, with a request that he would subscribe for a Hundred Copies. This has not yet been done, tho' sufficient time for Consideration has passed, and I apprehend that I shall be obliged to return the Paper with the few names which I have obtained.

I would plant a Hedge of this Thorn * in the Spring, of about 40 Rods, provided Mr. Main could supply the plants, and should be of opinion that I should succeed upon a level piece of Ground (I mean without Ditch or Ridge) which is now an unbroken Turf. Had I thought of it last fall, I would have prepared the Ground so as to have been in a suitable state to receive the plants in the spring ; whether the chance of success in the present condition of my ground, will authorise the attempt in the Spring, Mr. Main is better able to determine than I am. Could I succeed in a Hedge, I have no doubt that it would have a great influence in introducing Mr. Main's Hedges into extensive use.

I hardly dare say a word on politicks, the Condition of the Country appearing to me so much worse than I have before seen. I am not sorry, as the Bank was destined to dissolution, that your president has given it its Death blow—it has brought him out & shewn him such as we know him to be.

I shall be obliged to you for the late Message of the President, which I suppose has been printed. If after the Conduct of France from Nov. 1806 to the latest Dates from Fr. Congress shall not only acquiesce but subject England to, & exclude France from, a non-intercourse system, I must say, I know not what our Rulers are not capable of carrying into operation.

Very faithfully & always your obed. servt.

RUFUS KING.

* Mr. King planted a hedge of this thorn, which grew well and bore trimming very well, but having been neglected soon developed into trees--while an English hawthorn hedge planted at the same time, even with neglect, continued to preserve its hedge character, though it was objectionable in consequence of the loss of its leaves very early in September.

P. S. A proposal has been made in our State Legislature to destroy all qualifications in Elections, founded on property and to alter the mode of appointment to, & the tenure of, all offices. I know not what Countenance the project receives, but that it has been made, shews the Danger with which our Judiciary is threatened.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Feby. 27, 1811.

DEAR SIR :

I have received your letter of the 24th. I know that Mr. Main has already engaged vast quantities of his seedling thorns : I think 50 thousand by Mr. Quincy for his friends near Boston ; and I heard Main say he had many more engaged in these quarters. I should advise you to plough and cultivate the strip of ground you wish to plant a hedge on ; and next year set the thorns. Main sells them at a year's growth ; so thousands can be packed for transportation in a small compass. You can calculate the number you shall want, for the plants sh'd be set only 5 or 6 inches apart—a single row best. You must allow more to be set in a nursery, to supply failures the first year. Sort them as carefully as the soldiers in the same rank are sized ; so as to save a weak plant from the oppression of a taller neighbour. *Plain hedging* (that is without ditch & bank) is to be preferred in our country, where frosts and alternate thaws cause banks to moulder rapidly. Main's hedges (now become fences), are all on a plain surface. If your ground be not rich, I should advise you to plant potatoes, manure well and keep them perfectly clean from weeds.

From some chance conversation this day with two or three of the best and most independent members of the Senate, of the democratic party, I found they placed an entire confidence in the multitude and wisdom of the administration, in the general management of the affairs of the nation : what ground (have) these to hope for a useful change ?

Democratic gentlemen are astonishingly scrupulous in respect to France, to preserve our Nation's faith ; and talk of Cadore's letter relative to the repeal of the Berlin & Milan decrees, & the President's proclamation, as a "compact" which must on our

part be sacredly fulfilled. The public faith is thus made a pretence for their obsequiousness towards France. Yet the really respectable democratic Senators above referred to, discover in our administration no subserviency to France! They declared it to me with all seriousness this day!"

I am, dear Sir, very truly yours

T. PICKERING.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, Apl. 15, 1811.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I thank you for the information of what was doing by the wise men of the nation. Our news has since come down to the 10th of March, so that we know all the blessed results of their deliberations. Their exterior policy retains its paltry vacillating character & will not give more satisfaction to the great Emperor than it excites contempt & disgust here; between two stools will always prove a dangerous Seat.

The Tide of Fate appears at last to be changing &, blessed be God, the once irresistible armies of France have been most successfully resisted. You will have heard of the Retreat of Massena, the battle of Burosa, & the retreat of that division of the French army, which had taken Badajoz, before Marshal Beresford; the successful & gallant defence of Anholt against the Danes will perhaps be new. These several successes in various quarters will have most important consequences. The self-confidence of the French Troops is deeply shaken and the British Army will feel its ancient superiority restored and other nations will see that the despotism of France may be successfully resisted. But perhaps the most invaluable of recent occurrences, is that proposed in the House of Commons by the Minister, seconded by the Leader of the Opposition, & passed unanimously, for granting £100,000 for the relief of the Portuguese peasantry who have suffered by the depredations of the French during the invasion.

The Contrast which this National Act offers to the horrible excesses and wanton ravages committed by the French Army, particularly during its retreat, is of the most splendid and impressive nature; and will have its weight on the minds of Mankind, spite

of all the falsehoods so eagerly and artfully propagated by the Imperial Father of Lies.

There is every probability of an important change in the policy of the North. That Circumstance, together with the difficulty of finding ways and means, is thought to be the occasion of that languor & feebleness of supply which has necessitated the disgrace of Massena. His retreat is in every sense more valuable to England than the most splendid Victory ; inasmuch as a battle may be lost without any loss of reputation—as this event is accompanied by no loss on the part of England, while a Victory could not have cost less than 10 or 15 thousand men : and inasmuch as the loss of men in prisoners & deserters, as well as of artillery, ammunition, baggage & every equipment must put the French Army for a long time as effectually hors de combat, as the most decisive defeat could have done.

There is on the part of Bonaparte evident distress for money & men ; his frantic conduct in respect to commerce has dissolved all confidence in money transactions on the Continent. There exist no banks, no Capitalists to supply his wants by loans ; and the ruin of Commerce renders the collection of Taxes difficult, slow & diminished ; while his absurd policy in respect to Spain, has cut off those supplies from her mines, which had been for years the basis of his operations.

On the other hand the ruinous effects of the conscription begin to be severely felt—that system was adopted in 1793—18 years ago ; and the waste of human life during several of the first years of the Revolution was horribly profuse. The children of the young men, who then perished, ought to have been now of an age to serve their country : *but they do not exist :* and it is mathematically evident, that the chasm in the population of France is indeed daily confirmed by the continual anticipations of the conscription. Mr. Matthews, with a happy love for paradox, tells us to be sure, that the more men are destroyed in any country, the more rapidly the population will increase ; not evidently in the ordinary mode of nature, but I presume by sowing the Teeth of the Dead. He had forgotten doubtless that the Campagna of Rome once contained 8 millions of souls—and by the ravages of war & repeated invasions was in the course of a Century or two reduced to a desert, notwithstanding this miraculous power of reproduction, which he ascribes to nature. . . .

Since the death of the U. S. Bank, how many must join with us in admiring the name of Clinton ! ! ! *by their works ye shall know them.*

I cannot but hope that the recent events in Portugal & Spain will produce some effect in America—at least on those timid minds, who have worshipped France from the same motive as the Indians did the Devil. They must see that *if they resist the Devil, he will still fly from them.*

Mr. Foster will have the goodness to forward this to you.

. . . The news which he carries will at least, I trust, procure him a decent & civil reception, whatever may be the result of his negotiation. His personal amiability of character and his general acquaintance with the people in power are also important circumstances in his favour. I most heartily wish him success in bringing about a good understanding between the two Nations.

I must not omit to mention a circumstance which has recently occurred to our very good friend Mr. Pinkney. At his audience of leave, he took occasion to display his eloquence in assuring the Prince Regent "of the earnest & sincere desire which his Government entertained of accommodating all differences & being upon the most amicable terms with Great Britain, & concluded with assurances of his own most cordial good dispositions towards this Country, & deep regret that it had not been his happy lot to be instrumental in restoring perfect Harmony and good will between the two nations."

To all which the Prince coolly replied, "Sir, as I do not possess the power of seeing the *Hearts* of men, it is necessary that I should believe their *Words*." As you may naturally suppose his Ex-Excellency is outrageous ; the *Prince can know nothing of Etiquette.* . . .

I am faithfully yours

J. T.

MR. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, May 5, 1811.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . That you have become disgusted with the politics of our Country can excite no surprise. Some of your friends, however, complain that you do not take a more active part in the affairs of

New York, and think that your exertions might materially affect the cause of order & freedom.

The fate of the Election last year entirely destroyed the spirits of the Federalists, and the folly & wickedness of Congress the last winter appeared to strike them dumb and sink them in a state of desperate apathy. They awoke in Boston, but too late to make any excitement through the Commonwealth. They flatter themselves with the hope of a federal House of Representatives. Many are weak enough to believe that Madison has altered his policy, because he has introduced Mr. Monroe into the administration. . . . your faithful friend

C. GORE.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, 14 June, 1811.

DEAR SIR:

I had the pleasure a few days ago to receive your favor of the 20th April, in which you are so good as to enter into further explanation of the Law as applying to aliens. It appears to me that the difficulty of securing property to them is greater than I before imagined, and that in truth there is no safe and effectual remedy for the disqualifications attached to them by the Law, except naturalization, which was the object of our petition to the Legislature. The injury done to us by the perfidy of Clinton was therefore greater than I before imagined, and I see that we can never have an effectual remedy but in the ruin of that brute's political influence & in the justice of some future Legislature.

In my last to you, which was of the 15th of April by Mr. Foster (& I trust was conveyed to you by Sr. G. Temple), I expressed a hope, that the tide of human affairs had changed. The subsequent Victories of Almeida & Albuera, the particulars of which you will find in the enclosed newspaper, confirm these hopes. Almeida has been since abandoned by the French Garrison, & Badajoz must fall in a few days. No reinforcements have been lately sent from France, nor can be soon, to Spain; and I consider it as certain, that, in the course of the summer, the allies will possess all that part of Spain west of the Ebro & probably Catalonia.

Hostilities are perhaps commenced between Russia & France. Marshal Ney who commanded the rear during Massena's retreat is already in the North. Massena, Loison, & others are on their way to France, doubtless with the same destination ; and I presume it is the intention of Bonaparte to endeavour by a grand effort in that quarter to re-establish the reputation of his troops which has suffered severely in the three successive affairs of Barroso, Almeida & Albuera.—to dictate again upon the field of Victory, a triumphant Peace, which shall secure him against further interruption in that quarter & leave him at liberty to bear with all his force upon Spain & Portugal. But the charm is dissolved which has so long held Europe in chains, the late events in those countries must convince other Nations that French troops are not irresistible, and I trust that the Russians will be ashamed to prove themselves inferior to Spaniards & Portuguese, who have so long been regarded as the refuse of Europe. Something may also be fairly hoped from the riper years of Alexander, & from the experience which he must have had of the fruits of French friendship—something may also be hoped from the experience which all the vassal German States have gained within a few years ; the severity of the French Government in the extension of the system of conscription, & the restrictions on commerce have caused disgust & abhorrence to take the place of those fond hopes of Liberty & Happiness by which men were so long deluded ; and there needs but one reverse of fortune in the North similar to those which have lately occurred in Spain & Portugal, to produce a general explosion of smothered vengeance throughout Germany.

Whatever good or evil may arise in our country from the appointment of Mr. Monroe, one favorable circumstance I do expect which I should not have hoped for under Mr. Smith—that is, that the reception of Mr. Foster will at least be civil ; and something might be hoped from the prudence of the administration, under the new aspect of European affairs, had we not so much reason to fear that the *magnanimity*, of which they have given such splendid evidence, may induce them to support with hand as well as heart, the falling fortunes of their great friend, the Imperial advocate for the Freedom of Commerce & the Ocean.

What will the cold blooded wretch say now of Spain & Portugal? is the resistance which they oppose to the Omnipotent Emperor (as Sebastian called him in one of his Proclamations) the mere ebullition of Bigotry & Superstition? Shame, shame, that such an expression should have been applied to such a struggle by the first Magistrate of a nation, which had been brought into political existence by a similar struggle, within the memory & under the eye of that man—odious & base apostacy, for which I hope he will live to see himself despised & execrated as such conduct ever deserves to be.

The Budget of this Country is a fearful document to those who hope to ruin her by withholding Commerce—the loan of the year you will observe is 12,000,000, while the amount from the Sinking Fund, to be applied to the purchase of National Debt, will exceed 13,000,000—so that not only are the expenses of the year provided for within itself—but one million of *real* diminution of the debt is effected.

The season is fine, and the promise of all Crops, particularly wheat, is most abundant—having lately been to place J. T. Ray at Berkely in Gloucestershire, I judge from my own observation as well as from report.

Your friend & servant,

JNO. TRUMBULL.

GRENVILLE TEMPLE TO R. KING.

4th JULY (1811).

DEAR SIR:

Enclosed is a letter which I received from Mr. Trumbull, who requested me, were it possible, to deliver it into your own hands, & in entrusting to the care of your son, I conceive that I conform to the spirit, tho' perhaps not to the letter of his wishes; the fact is, that he is of opinion, that in the instances of men of situation, the American post-offices are as little scrupulous, as those of the "enlightened Nation." . . .

Mr. Foster with whom I came in the Minerva, has charged me with a packet of newspapers, but which in consequence of our long passage you will find but little interesting. I left him in the habit of daily discussion with Mr. Monroe, & sincerely hope, that

some conciliatory measure may be the result, to which the late victories in Spain & Portugal & some recent political disclosures in this country may perhaps contribute.

your most obt. humble sevt.

GRENVILLE TEMPLE.

J. H. HOBART TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Aug. 3, 1811.

DEAR SIR:

I am unwilling to intrude upon a retirement, the enjoyment of which I can very readily appreciate, with my concerns. The connection of my concerns with those of the church must be my apology.

I had expected to forward to you before this time my statement. But circumstances prevented my commencing it until about 3 weeks since, and my progress in it has been retarded by some necessary visits. . . . The Printers are striking off my statement as fast as possible & I hope it will be finished early in the ensuing week.

The pamphlet sent herewith is supposed to be the joint production of the Irvings (some of whom have only recently become Episcopalians) and Mr. Colden. You will perceive that Jones is justified in his notes. No charge, it seems, has been brought against "The Bp." but that of being "a quick tempered man,"—his misapplying money, favoritism, proscription, persecution, intolerance and tyranny passing for nothing. A very principal design seems to be to excite prejudices against my statement and the testimony which I may exhibit. I consider it a very unfair and insidious production.

I am most respectfully & sincerely yrs,

J. H. HOBART.

(*Copy.*)

R. KING TO (PROBABLY) J. H. HOBART.

AUGUST, 1811.

DEAR SIR:

I have received and am much obliged to you for the tracts which you kindly sent me—the first I had seen, and thought it a timely publication—the second is certainly a sound, and I am persuaded

will prove to be, a most useful performance. The statement, which I read with very great satisfaction, and which reflects so much credit upon its author, must have had its influence upon the persons who met at Mechanic Hall ; since they admitted, by their proceedings, the competency of Bp. Moore as our Diocesan. This being admitted, and now there never can be any rational doubt respecting it, the competency of the Bishop's court cannot be questioned. This Court was the judge of its own jurisdiction ; it alone could decide whether there existed a Controversy or Disagreement between Mr. Jones and the Vestry, and its decisions are conclusive—that this will be the judgment of the civil tribunals, cannot I think admit of the least doubt.*

Our defence is in able hands and the concluding paragraph of the statement leaves no apprehension that aught will be omitted which the occasion may require.

I am, Dear Sir, with very sincere Regard and Respect
Yr ob. & faithful RUFUS KING.

T. LUDLOW OGDEN TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 19 Sep., 1811.

DEAR SIR :

The enclosed paper has been delivered to Bishop Moore in answer to a letter from him to Mr. Jones, communicating the late Resolution of the Vestry. The Bishop has sent it to me and seems to think that it ought to be laid before the Vestry. Mr.

* Rev. Mr. Jones was an assistant minister of Trinity Church, and opposed the election of Dr. Hobart as an associate. After the latter was chosen, he persistently attacked him in reference to his personal character, charging him with "unprincipled ambition, calumny, implacable revenge, of designing and unauthorized malice." As a result, the efforts of the Vestry being unavailing to restore harmony, they were obliged to appeal to the Bishop and his presbyters in order to obtain a dissolution of Mr. Jones's connection. The result was that Mr. Jones was suspended, and peace was restored. He afterwards denied the authority of Coadjutor Bishop Moore's action, because Bishop Provoost was still Bishop. The latter had, however, resigned all his power and therefore Dr. Moore was competent to act. Many pamphlets were written on the subject and Dr. Hobart's address was a most conclusive vindication of his own character.—ED.

Harison has gone to Albany for a few days and I beg you to bestow on the subject a little reflection.

Mr. Jones, as you will observe, denies the fact of any existing difference between himself and the Vestry, and this is made the basis of his remonstrance against our late proceedings. Whether the case which has occurred be a proper one to warrant the interference of the Bishop and his Presbyters, under the 32d Canon will, I suppose, be a question for them to decide. Nevertheless it may be advisable that the Vestry should take notice of this performance, and, grounded on the communication of it by the author, pass some resolution containing a specification of the differences referred to. The occasion might not of itself, perhaps, justify an extraordinary meeting of the Vestry, but such a meeting will be proper, if not necessary, on another account. I mean the appointment of Delegates to the Annual Convention which is to assemble here on the first Tuesday of October. The Business of the Remonstrance may then be introduced in a way to obviate the objection suggested, and give effect to our application. . . . Be so good as to return the Remonstrance and to favor me with your advice as to the course to be pursued. If Dr. Beach is to be applied to, must it not be by yourself as Warden ?

I am very respectfully & faithfully yours

T. L. Ogden.

Anson J. Sperry to R. King.

Manchester, October 28, 1811.

Dr. Sir :

After I saw you last I had several appointments with Mr. Harison, on the subject of the Glebe lawsuit. His opinion was agreeable to yours, and he further suggested that those glebe lands were in trust in the hands of the heirs of the Governor for the church and would not escheat ; and to form societies under our statute & obtain conveyances from the heirs would be the most regular method of proceeding. To pursue that plan, a continuance of the cause became necessary, which I did not much expect to obtain. I however directed them to associate themselves in a way agreeable to the statute, which they did, & hired a clergyman.

At the October term of the C. Court we found we could not get the cause continued ; those we had calculated upon for assistance did not come, and I was necessarily called away. They were anxious to get a fact conceded to, respecting the identity of the land, and proposed to make a stated case. We had learnt that the Court would acknowledge the doctrine of incumbency and give every latitude we could wish. This was not known by the opposite party however. We therefore procured an acknowledgement of facts which we could not have produced ; the case was stated & to be decided by the Court & continued until next term for argument & decision.

On the part of the Plff. it was agreed that in A. D. 1802 there was a regular society of the denomination of Christians, called Episcopalians, in the town, duly organized under the care of Revd. Bethuel Chittenden, who had leased the lands and received the rents till A. D. 1809., when Revd. Ab. Brunson received the rents, for which he contracted to, and did, officiate a part of the term until Sept. 1811, when the Society regularly settled Rev. S. Iudet (?) who received and continued to receive the rents ; and that all persons in possession were in by consent of the society. On the part of the Defts. it was agreed that the land described was a glebe lot & that they were in possession.

There will now be ample time to investigate the subject & from the enquiries & suggestions of the Court and the decision of the former judge we have now no doubt but we shall get a decision in favor of the Church, on such grounds as will enable the incumbent to sue for the lands in his own name, & one clergyman be incumbent for any number of towns : but all things are uncertain in these days.

I wish to use every exertion, though at my own expence, to establish the principles favorably in every point of view, & then let others labour. The consequence & importance of the decision of their case to the future welfare of the Church in this State, the interest which you & Mr. Harison have taken in this business, which the Church in Vermont very gratefully acknowledge, induce me to communicate this information for your satisfaction & to invite you to communicate any thing further you shall deem necessary. With highest respect & esteem &c,

Anson J. Sperry.

Endorsed on the back by R. K.

Ans. Dec. 18. That Mr. Harison's opinion & the course of proceeding recommended by him shd. be pursued ; that if their law was like yt. of N. Y., concerning Religious incorporations, their Corporations must like ours be aggregate ones, and all suits by or agt. ym. must be in their aggregate name ; and not in the name of the Parson, who in England is a sole Corporation and therefore may sue or be sued as such.

That they wd. do well to be uniform in yr. acts of incorporation, including the Parson in the name of them—E. G. "The Rector, Wardens and Vestry men of the Protestant Epis. Church in A."

R. King to Porter.*

(*Private.*)

New York, Decr. 10, 1811.

Sir :

In consequence of an Extract from a letter that you lately wrote to Mr. Coleman, and which he shewed to me, I take the liberty of saying a few words upon the present state of our pub. Affairs.

Supposing the Report of your Comtee. on Foreign Relations † to mean what its language imports, one naturally enquires whether the Facts which it states are true. I am unable to agree with the Committee in the Fact, that the French decrees are revoked, or so modified as that they cease to modify our Rights ; I dissent from this opinion, because it seems to me quite inconsistent with the professed views & policy of France, that they should be so revoked or modified ; and moreover because the evidence thereof is grossly, as well as technically, defective : just enough has been done by France, without receding an iota from her system of war upon the Eng. Resources, to mislead a nation torn asunder by faction & blinded to her most important interests. I do not trouble you with anything in the shape of an argument on this subject, but merely express my personal opinion that the Proceedings of France are delusive. If the French decrees are not revoked, the provisional promise of England concerning her Or-

* John Porter of N. Y.

† Chairman's Report on 29 Nov., Hildreth's *U. S.*, vol. vi., p. 263.

ders is not broken, and the reasoning which turns upon the fact must fail. The Subject of Impressment, tho' an old, is never an indifferent topic. England renounces all pretension to impress American Seamen, but she claims the services of her own Subjects, notwithstanding we may naturalize them. A late law concerning the naturalization of Frenchmen, carries the doctrine of perpetual allegiance further than the English ever have done. So long as the naturalized Citizen remains within the Territory of his new Country, he is safe; and the nation is bound to protect him--whenever he leaves that territory he incurs the risk of being again subject to his former Allegiance, without any obligation on the part of his adopted Country to reclaim him; for Naturalization when it confers new rights, does not, and cannot dissolve, old duties, the performance of which within his own or a common Jurisdiction, the former sovereign may compel.

There are abuses on both sides; pains have been taken to adjust this subject, but hitherto without success—the evil is diminished, perhaps at no former period have the impressments been less numerous. If Congress did not consider this subject (undoubtedly one of a great deal of importance) when before them in the times of Washington, Adams & Jefferson, of sufficient weight to become the occasion of war, how can it be regarded as such now, when the example of the past is such as it is, and when the evil was never so small. Besides, what is the dispute? We claim the services of naturalized Citizens agt. their native allegiance. If we will give up this claim, Eng. will give up impressment out of our vessels—Does our population, does our navigation require that we shd. insist on this claim?

But perhaps it may be said, that in the actual condition of our dispute with England, our Honor requires a Decisn. of War,—if so, let war be declared; for in my poor judgment, the Honor of the Nation is the only legitimate cause of war.

Yet before we declare the war in defence of our Honor assailed by England, should we not pass in review the language and acts of France, which some may think affect our Honor. We have read official Letters from the French Govt., addressed to our Govt., have heard of expressions publicly made use of by the Emperor of France, have suffered the confiscation of an immense property on the plea of reprisal agt. a Law competently enacted

by Congress. Are we to submit to these taunts & injuries aimed directly at our Honor, and at the same time to whine and strut, & vapour about our Honor's being insulted by the Orders in Council and the impressment of seamen?

Were I in Congress, I would resist what appears to me to be the unjustifiable views of yr. administration. I wd. oppose a war with England for the reasons set forth by yr. Committee—as regards mere party interest some men may (I think however with doubtful policy as well as morality) acquiesce in a War with England; others may dislike the imputations that will be cast upon those who oppose it; and so a division may arise among those whose virtue & understanding shd. keep them united. This would I think be a subject of disappointment and regret to what we believe to be the soundest portions of our Country. It has seemed to me of the very greatest importance, that this body of men shd. with the utmost care preserve the purity of their reputation.

I must entreat your excuse for the Liberty I have now taken, in expressing myself in the unreserved way I have done: had you not invited a communication of my opinion, I should not have presumed to trouble you with it. Not having the honor of a personal acquaintance, I, &c.

CHAPTER XIV.

Gore to King—Massachusetts Politics—King—Henry Plot—Nothing hostile to the United States—Morris to King—French in Spain—Affairs at Home depend on Madison's Re-election—King—Statement—Affairs in New York—Clinton's Aspirations—Conferences with his Friends and himself—King finally satisfied that Support of him by Federalists would be unwise—Not willing to be a Candidate for Vice-Presidency—King to Gore—War one of Party, not of Country—Cannot be carried on by Militia—If England wise, Peace will soon come—D'Ivernois to King—Heard he was on a pacific Mission—Trumbull to King—America at War with England—Northern Europe with France—King to Gore—Attended Meeting in New York respecting the Presidential Election—Opposed to its Resolutions—Opposed to Clinton—Would prefer a federal Candidate to Madison—King to Gore—Elections uncertain—War has dissatisfied many Democrats in New York—Gore to King—Leading Federalists want Change—Opposition to Madison—Most prefer Clinton.

C. Gore to R. King.

Boston, Feby. 7, 1812.

My dear Friend:

. . . Poor Thacher is to be dismissed from the office of Judge, for having offended the great men of Maine. He, probably, has not a thousand dollars in the world. Parsons is, I fear, never more to act as Judge. He is becoming a very sick man, and, if Death should spare him, Democracy will not. The Senate will be so chosen by the new districting the Commonwealth, as to give an ascendency in that Body to the present Rulers, of one third—so that while we may have a chief magistrate & a House of Reps. federal, there is no reason to apprehend any change for the other Branch, but for the worse, for many years. Some of the leading Feds. are sanguine, that by associating with Democracy, they may obtain an immense Bank, and amass princely fortunes.

In times of great commercial prosperity and extensive credit 7 per cent was the dividend, and they still dream of returning to more fortunate days. The ladder by which these men mean to ascend to power & consequence, is inveighing against G. Britain, supporting De Witt Clinton as Prest., and expect as a reward a foreign Embassy or the Government of the State—and thus we go. I remain a silent observer knowing little of politicks, nothing of the , and interesting myself in my Books & my Farm. . . . Your faithful friend C. GORE.

(*R. King's Handwriting.*)

The President's Message, of the 9th instant (March 9, 1812) must be considered as a communication to Congress of Proceedings, as he calls Henry's Mission,* of the British Government

* John Henry was an Irishman who had served in the American Army during the Revolutionary War and had become naturalized. After a time he settled in Vermont, and while there engaged in writing to the newspapers articles against the United States Government, which attracted the attention of Gov. Craig of Canada. The people of the New England States, and especially of Massachusetts, early in 1809, deeply resenting the acts of the Government, and particularly the Embargo Act, talked seriously of a separation of the States to protect their own interests, and Gov. Craig sent for Henry and gave him instructions to go secretly to New England and to remain in Boston to ascertain the state of public feeling, the probability of a separation taking place, and such other facts as might be interesting under the circumstances, suggesting to him that his services would without doubt be rewarded by the British Government.

He went to Boston, remained there some months, obtaining such information as the newspapers and frequenting the coffee-houses could give him, and transmitted the same to Gov. Craig. At no time had he intercourse with any of the leading people, on his own admission. His correspondence was closed by what was called the Erskine Treaty, and he returned to Canada, expecting a valuable appointment. Failing in this he went to England, and though thanked for what he had done, received only promises of reward. Angry and disappointed, he returned to America in 1812, and in some way procuring a letter from Gov. Gerry, proceeded to Washington, where he remained in secret some ten days. During that time he had communication with Mr. Madison, who paid him $50,000 from the secret-service fund for his promised revelations, which were the letters to Gov. Craig. Immediately on the receipt of the money he left Washington and sailed from New York to France in the U. S. sloop of war, the *Wasp*, on the very day the President sent his Message to the Senate. The President charged that while negotiations, three years before, were

which in conjunction with others may induce them to declare War against that nation. So far as any of the citizens of the U. States have been implicated in this Proceeding, it is to the judiciary Department & not to the Legislative that the same shd. be referred. It is worth while then to inquire whether this Proceeding is of a hostile or injurious character, and, in case it should so appear to be, whether it is conformable to former usage and to justice, in the first instance to impute the same to the Principal without calling upon him to avow or disavow the act of his Agent.

Upon a careful reading of Govr. Craig's Letter to Henry—admitting it to be authentic—its purport is neither more nor less than this. As it is evident that a very great division of the People exists in the U. States respecting the Embargo, and as in consequence of their division upon this and other subjects, a separation may take place between the Southern and Northern States, the whole subject is so very important and so intimately affects the interest of England, that it is most desirable that exact information should be obtained as well in respect to the commercial Restriction of the U. States, as touching the State of Parties and the separation between the Northern and Southern States. I therefore desire you (Mr. H.) to repair to Boston, which is the principal town of the Northern States, for the purpose of procuring this information. I cannot point out to you any particular mode in which you can best execute this Commission ; your own discretion must be your guide. Should there exist a project for a

pending, Great Britain had employed a secret agent in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation, and in intrigues with the disaffected, for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, etc. No names were mentioned, no acts stated ; and the only inference, as Hildreth says, is that Madison, in paying so much for these papers, if he knew beforehand how little they really contained (which is doubtful), sought to "aid the administration party of Massachusetts in the approaching election by exciting suspicions against the federalists, as well as odium against the British Government." The federalists indignantly denied any knowledge of any scheme of disunion, and the President could furnish no other facts.*

* President's Message, *Annals of Congress*, 1811–12, Part I., p. 165. Pamphlet with the letters and papers sent in with the Message and Report of the Committee to which they were referred—which Report was laid on the table, no action being advised. Also, Hildreth's *United States*, vi., pp. 284–7.—EDITOR.

division of the States, you must carefully endeavour to find out whether those, who are engaged in this project, think of a connexion with England, or desire her assistance, but to receive and transmit to me any application or communication concerning the same; and to this end you are furnished with Credentials, which if indispensable, may be shewn by you to persons, wishing to open a Communication with me.

Now may it not be asked, what there is in this Proceeding that is hostile to the U. States? Is it not true that a great division existed in 1809–10, respecting the Embargo?—is it not true that rumours of a separation of the States, to say the least, were at that time in circulation? Have not the newspapers, nay did not the Debates in Congress, allude to such an event—is it extraordinary then, was it not the contrary to have been expected, that the Govt. Genl. of the English Colonies should be solicitous to discover the actual state of the public opinion upon these subjects and to receive and transmit the same to his superiors?

Invert this state of things and suppose the period to have arrived which certainly will arrive, when the English Colonies in our own neighbourhood may desire to throw off their connexion with, and to separate themselves from Great Britain. Suppose that the operation of some impolitic law should be the occasion of the manifestation of this disposition, and suppose, moreover, that such law should be not only injurious to the Colonies, but disadvantageous to the U. States; would it be injustice to England, would it be contrary to the usage of nations, would it be extraordinary that the Governor of N. York or Massachusetts should employ some person to repair to the seat of Government in Upper or Lower Canada to ascertain the state of such Colonies, to learn the nature of public opinion there, and in case such separation should be in view, to endeavour to find out if assistance from or a Connection with the U. States were desired, and to receive and transmit any communication on these subjects?

It is the interest of neighbouring States to know what is passing in their neighbourhood, and they fail in what is honestly due to themselves, when they neglect to acquire such information. The establishment of resident Ministers is in a great degree founded upon the principle of its being the reciprocal interest

of States to know what is doing by their neighbours. At this moment, did we not completely neglect the only true and solid system of foreign Politicks which this country should look to and with undeviating steps pursue at this moment, the U. States ought to have in their service faithful and intelligent Agents in Mexico, in Caraccas, in Peru & elsewhere upon the Southern Continent. The work is begun and no earthly power can stop its projects—the Æra of Emancipation advances and the day of complete deliverance is at hand; the scourge of Europe may prove to be the deliverer of America. If instead of a miserable and inglorious struggle for mere personal preferment, in which the vices, not the virtues, of the People are cultivated, in which we are arraying brother against brother, father against son, and vice against virtue, the U. States, the elder sons of Freedom, would perform their duty; this mighty event would be accelerated and not only so, but those who are without experience might have wisdom from us, and many and great evils, which otherwise will happen, might be avoided. Instead of a divided we should become a united people, acting upon a system of affirmative and great policy, and not forever quibbling and squabbling and wasting our character and resources upon secondary, inferior and litigious controversies.

From the preceding views, it would seem that the Mission of H. was not a violation of any of our national rights; on the contrary, that it was a proceeding of precaution and of prudence, which nations are accustomed in similar circumstances to adopt; and we presume that the Cabinet at Washington cannot be without Documents, concerning the late transactions which occurred in the Floridas; and it would be strange indeed were not the American Agents still continued in these provinces.

But admitting even that the Mission of Henry was a violation of our rights—from which did the injury proceed—from the Governor of the Br. Colonies?—was he authorized to commit this injury, or like Adl. Berkley, did he act without orders?

When Sir Guy Carleton, former Governor of these British Provinces made a Speech to the Inds., which was justly exceptionable and offensive to the U. States, did he act pursuant to the orders of his Government? At any rate his Speech was disavowed and he recalled, and the Minister declared on the occasion in the H.

of Commons that he, Guy, must have been mad or drunk when he made the Speech.

Men of the President's age, as a public man, will perhaps recollect the Proceedings instituted in this Country by the Spanish Minister Gardoqui in connexion with American citizens residing upon the Western waters ; younger men will probably remember the proceedings of more than one of the French Ministers in connexion with the same description of citizens. These were undoubtedly violations of our national rights, which would have authorized the Government to call upon the Sovereigns of these Ministers to disavow and punish them. But until such demand had been made and refused, would it not have been premature to have imputed these delinquencies to their Sovereigns ?

The case of the violation of an important national right by the Governor of Louisiana cannot be forgotten. He suspended a stipulation of a Treaty between the U. States and his Master, and in effect, put an end to our navigation of the Mississippi. On looking back to the discussions of that day will it not be found that it was not deemed correct, without enquiry to consider the suspension as the act of the King of Spain ? If then in the case of Genl. Carleton, of the Sp. & Fr. Ministers, of the Governor of Louisiana, of Adml. Berkley, it was not thought right to demand an explanation of their Sovereigns before the injury received was imputed to them, why does the case of Govr. Craig form an exception ? Why does the President without enquiry impute his act to his Principal ? Are there two rules of justice upon the same matter, or is justice one and immutable, and at all times and in all places the same ?

Upon the whole, Henry's Mission was innocent or criminal ; if innocent, it certainly should not have been presented to the nation at all, much less in the light it has been : if criminal, it should in the first instance have been made the subject of complaint to the British Government, according to the practice of our own Government on former and much more important occasions.* There must have been therefore some other purpose than the ostensible one, which has induced the President to dispose of the public money for Henry's secret and to send this Message to Congress. On this subject it is best to speak out and to discard all affecta-

* Genet's appeal.

tion. It is notorious, then, that this Country is divided into two parties ; that one of them is charged with entertaining a preference for connexions with France and the other with England. The Revolution left a mass of prejudices upon the People against England, and in favour of France. Our Government is popular, the People are the fountain of power ; by their favour can ambitious men acquire eminence. Upon these data are our Parties founded—France and England alike regard us in subordination to each one's interests and views ; and so ought we to regard them : but instead of seeking what would be for the honour and advantage of the Nation, in reference to either of these powers, the sole enquiry seems to be what will most contribute to the interest and predominance of our Party ?

Whether it be a Law to elect Members of the State or General Government, a Law respecting Banks or other Corporations, a Law imposing Taxes, or providing for a land or Naval Force ; whether it be a foreign mission, or a Message from the State or National Executive, instead of their being formed and adopted with a just regard to the rights and welfare of all, these measures are regulated and adjusted to the partial and ruinous view of preserving power in the hands of the ruling Party.

It is contrary to all experience and argues an utter want of knowledge of the character and decisions of the human mind, to believe that a People of great pride and enterprize, who detest idleness & whose habits urge them to unceasing activity, can for any length of time be induced to suspend their employment, to relinquish their pursuits and contentedly refer to others the time and manner of their resuming them.

G. Morris to R. King.

Morrisania, 3d May, 1812.

Dear Sir :

I return with thanks the Chronicle. His discolored Facts are still Facts, and the Paint rubbed off, shew a situation which at the first Glance is not favourable to Spanish Liberty. That their nobles would betray them I had never a doubt. That they are still at Heart indisposed to a Course which will, probably reduce them to a Level with the Commons I cannot but believe. That

Actions corresponding to such Sentiments must happen is self-evident ; and what is the Conclusion to be drawn ? that in the national Ferment the Scum of their Nobility will by Reason of those very Actions be purged off.

The Chronicle Editor, and by that Word I mean also the would be Ministers in Opposition, seems bewildered beyond Measure in his Reasoning on Ld. Wellington's Position. His Diversions are indeed diverting. His Lordship seems to have been fairly outwitted by Marmont ; but no Generalship will enable Boys to beat men. The Battle of Salamanca proves the Truth of an Opinion I formed long since on what I believe to have been an impartial View of the contending Nations. The cool and steady Valor of the English will bear down all opposition from the French. These indeed stand in awe of their Enemies, who go into Action, when tolerably led, with a Confidence which ensures Success. Apropos you have doubtless heard, as I have, that Admiral Sawyer, when our Declaration of War was the Subject of Conversation in a large Company of naval Officers, said to them, " Remember Gentlemen these are not Frenchmen whom you are now going to fight."

Marmont had manœuvred so as to turn his Adversary's Right and nothing remained but to sustain his Position two Days or fall back one Day, so as to form a Junction with Joseph. As the Matter now stands, that is to say as it stood when we last heard, the British are in the center and can destroy the different French Corps in Detail—Provided always they succeed in Season ag. the Army of the North. I presume that this Army, viz Marmont's, with the Troops that were on the Northwest of the Ebro will avoid an action and will therefore be driven out of old Castile. While this is doing, the Troops in Grenada and Andalusia will I suppose be concentrated in Cordova. On the other Hand Genl. Hill will probably take Post at Talavera de la Reyna and Toledo. What is to be done by the diverting Troops at Alicant I do not know. If they can penetrate to Albarete on the Borders of New Castile they will be of great Importance. The Garrison at Cadiz and all the Spanish Corps in Andalusia and Grenada will form a Junction as soon as the French leave Cordova and hang on their Rear. It will then be a matter of serious Consideration with the French General whether to attempt marching into New Castile or forming a Junction with Joseph's Troops and so moving along

the Coast into Catalonia, or remaining in Andalusia so as to occupy a Part of the allied Army there. In each of these Plans there are manifold Risques. Lord Wellington after leaving a sufficient Corps of Observation in the Northwestern Corner of Old Castile can assemble, especially if joined by the Troops which were at Alicant in manner already mentd., an effective Army of 80,000 men in the Center of New Castile. If the French in Andalusia attempt a March into that Kingdom, they must, I should suppose, be destroyed. If they go along the Mediterranean they can be anticipated long before they reach the Ebro. And even after a Junction shall have been formed with the Troops of Joseph the finding of Subsistence will be no small Difficulty. Desertion of the Juramentados and indeed of every Sort of Troops will be a serious Inconvenience. In short, if the Remnant of Marmont's Troops with such Aid as can be collected is not able to oppose the Allies, I do not see how the Emperor is to keep any Hold of the Peninsula.

I have not seen the Russian Correspondence you mention, but I never questioned the Propriety of the Copenhagen Business. Britain would have been long since in a much better condition had she determined at first to attack her several enemies. As to the Part we shall pursue, it will I think depend on the now pending Election. If Madison be rechosen, *We*, if by that you mean the United States, shall not I believe make Peace with England. If Clinton be chosen *We* shall. In the former Category, *We* may perhaps not be the United States and in that Case, &c, &c, &c.

Yours truly,

GOUVR. MORRIS.

STATEMENT IN R. KING'S HANDWRITING.

War with England declared, June 18, 1812.

Monday, July 27.—Mr. Coleman called on me, for the purpose, as he stated, of consulting me respecting the State of the Country. He commenced by observing that the manner of calling out the Militia was somewhat extraordinary; the northern Militia were coming to serve in the City, while that of the City were to be sent to serve in the North.

I remarked that as no invasion existed, the Detachment of the Militia seemed to be illegal—moreover when lawfully detached, it should be in Corps, entire Companies or Regiments, so that the men should only serve under their own officers ; that the Militia was an organized Body, and was liable to serve only according to such organization ; that the Militia acting with the regular troops, would be commanded by the officer of highest rank—when the rank was the same, the regular officer wd. command ; that a regular officer without regular troops ought not to command the Militia.

Mr. Coleman then spoke of the encreasing dissatisfaction with the war, and desire of Peace—that the City wished for a meeting of the Citizens to express this Desire—that Mr. J. Radcliff recently had spoken to him ;—that Mr. R. had quitted Mr. Wolcott and become a peace man—that he had said that he had some personal Difference with me, but that this circumstance did not influence him, and he hoped that I wd. co-operate with the friends of Peace, and that he wished that I, Mr Morris, Genl. Clarkson, Mr. Varick, and Mr. Harison wd. consent to be a Committee to prepare an address and Resolutions to be adopted by the City on the actual posture of the Country.

Mr. Coleman said that he had come to Jamaica on this business, & that a Committee composed of a number from each ward had agreed to recommend a City Meeting on Tuesday, 5th of August.

I observed that I had no personal animosity to Mr. Radcliff, tho' I had little respect for his judgment ; that I was ready to co-operate with him or others in any measures likely to promote the public welfare, and that he was authorized to say so to Mr. R.

That I thought it very desirable that Mr. Jay shd. be invited to meet a few of his friends for the purpose of consulting together respecting the public affairs, and especially concerning the proposed City meeting ; that I recommended that Mr. P. A. Jay sh'd go to his father and express the desire of myself and others that he would attend such meeting ; that Genl. Clarkson shd. be consulted, and that I would go to town on the next day for this purpose.

Mr. Coleman observed that Sylvanus Millar and some other Persons went to Pennsylvania on the preceding Friday, to treat in behalf of Mr. De Witt Clinton, who yesterday asked of Mr. S.

Boyd a letter introducing these Gentlemen to Mr. Hare of Philadelphia—that De Witt Clinton wd. engage, if chosen President, to make immediate Peace with England and that he called himself an *American Federalist:* that on the return of Quincy, Emott and others from Congress, they held a conference with him, D. B. Ogden, Peter Radcliff, Jones & others, concerning the Presidency : that it appeared that the Federalists in Congress despaired of being able to elect a federal President and that they wd. prefer Clinton to Madison : that the Senate of Mass. was democratic, but that three of them wd. unite with the Federalists to choose Clintonian Electors ; that Clinton wd. obtain support in Maryland, in Ohio, and North Carolina ; that in these circumstances, they desired to know whether the Feds. in N. Y. wd. support Clinton. Mr. P. Radcliff declined engaging in anything in favor of Mr. Clinton, others hesitated ; the Congressmen were, however, authorized to say that New York federalists would, if possible, choose federal Electors, and if they despaired of a federal President, they would vote for Clinton to keep out Madison.

Mr. Coleman shewed me two letters from Benj. Stoddart of Maryland (formerly Secretary of the Navy) urging Marshall as fed. Candidate for President, and King or Clinton as V. P., Marshall alone being able to take Virginia from Madison. Mr. Coleman observed that Mr. Joseph O. Hoffman had pledged the City delegation to Clinton—a proceeding that some persons did not approve,—and that late accounts from Pennsylvania made it doubtful whether Clinton wd. prevail over Madison in that State.

Friday, July 31.—Being on a visit to Hell Gate, Dr. Mason having been at Jamaica and learned that I should not return home that Evening, followed me at a late hour to Mr. Gracie's. In an interview with him, after the Family had retired to bed, the Doctor stated that having called on Mr. D. W. Clinton on business of the College, after finishing his conversation on this subject, a free conversation took place between himself and Mr. Clinton concerning public affairs, and, especially, relative to the combination of the Southern States to govern the Nation, to oppress commerce and degrade the Northern States. Mr. Clinton avowed his determination to oppose these views of the Southern States, & for this purpose expressed his Readiness to meet and confer with any respectable men of the federal Party, with the view of

effecting the Union of the State of N. York. The Doctor enlarged on these topics and made many observations of a personal character affecting myself, and concluded by asking whether I wd. meet & confer with Mr. Clinton.

I explained to the Doctor my Engagement to confer with Mr. Jay, Mess. Morris, Clarkson, Varick and Harison, and added that I was unwilling to give an answer to his Enquiry, and shd. prefer stating what he had communicated to the persons above named, in order that they might express an opinion respecting the expediency of the proposed Conference with Mr. Clinton. This being acquiesced in by Doct. Mason, I engaged to make the Communication.

Aug. 3.—Went to Morrisania to meet Mr. Jay, Morris & Clarkson—communicated to them the Proposition from Mr. Clinton by Doct. Mason. Mr. Jay produced and read the Draft of a Set of Resolutions to be adopted by the City. I also read a Sketch wh. I had prepared—a free conference ensued—the Result was an opinion that it was desirable to unite the State of New York in favor of Peace, and that a Conference with Mr. Clinton for this purpose was expedient; but that this shd. be the sole object of the Conference. I objected to the interview & Conference with Mr. Clinton, but finally acquiesced & consented to be present with Mr. Jay & Mr. Morris at the Interview: that to affect the union of N. Y. and if practicable to extend the Peace party, it would be expedient that Delegates from each County in the State shd. be appointed with authority to confer with each other and with the Peace Party in other States.

In the Conference with Mr. Clinton in addition to the object of the formation of a Peace Party, that nothing should be added—if any other topic shd. be named, that it shd. be said, that in respect to any general or continental measure (meaning the Election of President) the same must be matter of concert with the Friends of Peace in other States. Mr. Clarkson left us after dinner and engaged to notify Harison and Varick.

Tuesday, August 4.—Still at Morrisania—Harison & Varick joined us. Mr. Morris having drawn up a Paper, embodying the principal Points of yesterday's Discussion, the same was repeatedly gone over & corrected. After dinner Harison and Varick went to town, the latter being charged to call on Doctor Mason

to inform him that his Communication to me respecting the views of DeW. Clinton had been made and considered, and that Mr. Jay, King and Morris wd. confer with him on the next day, if he wd. come for that purpose to Morrisania. Dr. Mason having intimated that he also wd. accompany Mr. Clinton in the proposed conference with Mr. King, Mr. Varick was desired to state that as Clarkson, Harison & Varick would not be present, it had been thought expedient to confine the meeting to Mr. Jay, King, Morris & Clinton—Mr. Varick was requested to send a message, if Mr. Clinton declined attending.

Wednesday, Aug. 5th.—At breakfast received a Letter from Mr. Varick, reporting that he had executed his Commission by delivering it to Doct. Mason and thro' him received from Mr. Clinton the answer that it was his Desire and intention to meet us at Morrisania to-day as soon as he could get out of the Mayor's Court, which he hoped would not be later than 2 o'clock P.M. Mr. Jay was a good deal unwell ; we however revised the Draft of the City Resolutions, waited dinner till 4 o'ck. Mr. Clinton arrived while we were at table, joined us before the Dessert was removed. Mr. Jay had ordered his carriage for 5 o'clk. to go & sleep at his friend Cortlandt's at Yonkers : about this hour we all left the table and went to Mr. Morris' Library. According to a previous arrangement (Mr. Jay having declined on account of ill health and the want of acquaintance, to conduct the Conference with Mr. Clinton) Mr. Morris opened it, by stating the occasion of our meeting and that the Communication, thro' Doctor Mason, having been made to us, we had desired Doctor Mason to inform him of our meeting, as well as of its object ; and to propose that he should come to Morrisania to confer with us. Mr. Morris then read to him the Resolutions which we had prepared for the City Meeting. Here Mr. Morris paused.

Mr. Clinton immediately observed that in the interview that had been mentioned between him & Doct. Mason, the Doctor having asked him whether he would meet and confer with a respectable Federalist, he had answered in the affirmative. Mr. Clinton then observed, that he supposed that he did not differ from us in opinions respecting the public affairs and that he entirely approved of the Resolutions that had been read to him. But as his friends, comprehending a great majority of the Repub-

lican Party in the State, were divided in their opinions respecting the war—prejudices against England leading some of them to approve of the war,—Time was necessary to bring them to one opinion. Disastrous Events had already happened, and owing to the incapacity of the national administration still further misfortunes would occur, and would serve to produce an union of opinion respecting the war ; that for these Reasons the proposed Peace meeting in the City should be deferred four or five weeks ; in the interim he would confer with his friends for the purpose of bringing about a common opinion ; that he did not recommend Delay with a view of temporising, for that he was decided ; that he would have received what should have satisfied him, especially as he was yet a young man, provided he would have consented to continue with Mr. Madison and his administration, but that his knowledge of his incapacity would not permit the continuance of this Connection any longer ; that he was separated from the administration forever : that he pledged his honor that the breach was irreparable : that for political Reasons he found it expedient to avoid publicity on this subject, on his own account and in respect to his political friends : that Armstrong governed Spencer "who was his Creature," that Spencer had an influence on Tompkins and Taylor : that Armstrong while carrying on a negotiation with the administration to be a Brigadier General was engaged in measures to procure a Peace meeting in Dutchess County, in which he offered to preside : "that he had been bought off by the miserable Commission of a Brigadier General."

In respect to the City Meeting Mr. Clinton said he would apprize the movers of his ulterior views on Monday August 10, when the Canal Commissioners would hold a meeting.

In reference to the actual state of public opinion throughout the country, Mr. Clinton observed, that in Massachusetts a very great change had taken place, that instead of Fifty thousand votes, Gerry would not obtain half that number ; that if Pennsylvania would be combined, she would come out right : that Logan, Read, son of the Governor, and Sergeant, son of the eminent lawyer of that name, with others were his friends and would co-operate to extend and establish sound opinions ; Gilman had informed him that New Hampshire would have been well united had not the indiscreet Violence of Boston prevented it.

Almost six o'clk Mr. Jay got into his carriage to go to Mr. Cortlandt's, Mr. Clinton remaining. Mr. Morris resumed the conversation with him, by observing to Mr. Clinton, you may expect that we shd. say something upon other topics than that of the desired union of a Peace Party. Mr. Clinton said that he thought other topics had better not now be spoken of ; Mr. Morris however stated that in our opinion all general or continental measures should be referred to the consideration of the Peace Party throughout the Union.

Mr. Morris this evening wrote a note to Clarkson, Harison & Varick, confidentially advising them that a meeting with Mr. Clinton had taken place and desiring to see them at his Sister Mrs. Ogden's, in the city at 9 o'clock on Monday Aug. 10.

Returned home this evening.

P.S. After communicating to MM. Jay & Morris Mr. Clinton's overture to confer with any respectable Federalists, I observed to them that my first inclination was in favor of the expediency of conferring with Mr. Clinton, but that on farther reflection I was disinclined to the measure. That I looked upon Mr. Clinton as upon every other Leader of a Faction ; that so long as he went on according to their views and bias, so long he wd. lead them, but as soon as he opposed their views, and more certainly so soon as he united with the rival Faction for any purpose, he would be deserted by his own.

With Armstrong, Spencer, Tompkins & Taylor opposed to him, it was questionable whether any considerable portion of the Repubs. would follow him ; that unless a large body of the Repubs. come with him, he was not worth accepting. Besides that, it was of less importance that the Federalists should acquire a temporary ascendency by the aid of a portion of the Repubs. than that their reputation and integrity shd. be preserved unblemished ; that any coalition in which they were to submit to the control of their opponents wd. tarnish their character and justly impair their influence ; that Clinton and his Partizans wd. give such report of the nature of the conference as would suit their own views ; that we might be misrepresented, and after the mischief was done, should be obliged to vindicate our reputation by explaining what passed in our Conference. From a solicitude to extend and establish a peace party, as the best if not only means of promoting the gen-

eral welfare, MM. Jay & Morris were inclined to confer with Mr. Clinton, and as the overture came from him, I acquiesced. Not to meet Mr. Clinton wd. be to give him cause of offence and Mr. Morris, who had been of late much with Mr. Clinton on the business of the Canal, intimated that Gerry had accepted of the nomination of V. P. conditionally and stood ready to resign it to Mr. Clinton. To refuse his desire of a conference might drive him to this choice. Monroe's act. had been passed. Hall's also had been allowed. Gerry was poor and money might be more acceptable to him.

Friday, Aug. 7.—Went to town—called on Mr. Harison and expressed to him my opinion that the city meeting must not be delayed according to Mr. Clinton's wishes; that it might suit and promote his personal objects to postpone the meeting, but that ours which were altogether of a public nature could not be benefitted by delay: that much excitement was understood to exist in the city, and the motives for delay would not be understood & could not be explained.

Saw and conversed with Mr. Radcliff, who was desirous of an early meeting, and averse to any co-operation with Mr. Clinton. He asked and I mentioned to him, as I also did in confidence to MM. Gracie, Benson and Bogart, the purport of the interview with Mr. Clinton, which, as I stated to them (whatever were the views of Mr. Clinton in proposing the Conference) was confined to the plan of forming a Peace Party, every other topic being wholly excluded.

August 18.—Went to Town, and attended the Peace meeting, tho' without the zeal and animation ascribed to me by the Evening Post.*

Aug. 29, 1812.—Went to town . . . Saw Mr. Wolcott, stayed

* *Meeting of the Friends of Liberty, Peace, and Commerce.*

. . . Never in the annals of this city was such a meeting witnessed for its respectability and numbers. Gentlemen of the very first standing in society here, together with many from the vicinity, among whom were Mr. King, Col. Platt, and Mr. C. J. Bogart, showed themselves at the Hall and were seen among the most zealous and animated of the audience.

Col. Fish was Chairman of the Meeting—Messrs. John Wells and D. B. Ogden submitted resolutions which were passed—Mr. Hoffman addressed the meeting—Mr. King did not speak.—*Evening Post*, Tuesday, Aug. 18, 1812.

and dined ; conversed abt. the State of pub. affairs. Mr. W. averse to Clinton's choice as Presidt. I confidentially told him all that passed at Morrisania. He confirmed in substance Hoffman's information, that Judge Griffith of N. Jersey & Mr. Wallace being at Cont. when the Council met abt. the Militia Drafts, a project for a Caucus to meet in N. Y. on ye 15 Feb'y was agreed upon ; Cont. to notify the Eastern States & Pennsylvania to notify the Southern States. Wolcott said he shd. busy himself in the business, whether asked to do so or not.

He then with some hesitation asked me if I shd. object to be nominated V. Pr. with Marshall or Judge Washington as Pr. I replied vaguely—afterwards said that I shd. not be willing to be named for either office ; that the Feds. were desirous of coalition with Clinton & while I shd. not agree to that plan, it was proper that it shd. be understood that I put myself out of all question by declining a nomination to any station.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., July 17, 1812.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . I have, upon the best consideration I have been able to give the subject, come to the conclusion that there will be neither sequestrations nor confiscations on either side. American effects in M'treal will be more exposed to hazard from our own people, shd. the Canada Expedition proceed than from any other obvious cause.

I have understood, and from a pretty direct channel, that the Expedition agt. Canada is postponed, and that it will not proceed this year. The non-intercourse, or rather non-importation law remains in force, but must I conjecture be repealed early in the next Session of Congress. If we make no objection, Engd. will oppose no impediments to supplying us with their manufactures. The only opposition will be from France : indeed the only serious danger to our Country is from that quarter. I regard the war, as a war of party, & not of the Country—those who have made the war will dread the unpopularity of French connexion, and hence my hope that French influence will be kept out.

Such are our wants, and such the difficulties in the way of the

supply from any Country but England that I am persuaded that Eng. manufactures will be admitted. If Miller or some *other agent* of yr. Nephew's house remains in Canada, charged with the care and disposal of these goods, in case the non-importation shd. be repealed, they may be imported and readily sold—if it shd. be continued, such will be the demand that Eng. goods will come into the country by illicit means : while I shd. dissuade from any connexion in the attempt to introduce the goods in this manner, I see no reason (if a demand shd. arise for the goods in Montreal) agt. the sale of them : the only caution shd. be directed to the security of payment.

If the prohibitory Laws continue, there will be a demand for goods by persons who will attempt to smuggle them—in this event they may probably be sold in the fall or winter. If these laws are repealed, there will be no difficulty in their importation.

The war cannot be carried on by the Militia. A regular army will be enlisted with the utmost difficulty ; besides money cannot be raised by Loans : and if Taxes be collected, the popularity of the Party according to Mr. Jefferson's former opinion, must be destroyed. I infer that the war will drag on heavily ; that it will become very, and extensively, unpopular ; that the dread of French connexion will greatly increase the mass of discontent ; that the Congressional Elections will show the perilous unanimity of the Northern States agt. the war, and if England have a wise ministry, we must soon return to Peace.

With affectionate regards &c. I remain always yours,

R. K.

D'Ivernois to R. King.

Londres, ce 28 Juillet, 1812.

Monsieur :

J'eus l'honneur de vous écrire il y a six semaines, une longue lettre, que le porteur, Mr. Caldwell de Quebec, me rapporta le matin même de son départ, et que je jettai au feu en apprenant de lui que vous étiez en mer pour une mission pacifique dans ce pays-ci. Combien les choses ont changé depuis cette époque, et que j'ai le cœur gros de tout ce qui se passe en Amérique. J m'en

console cependant en voyant la résistance qu'épreuve Bonaparte au Midi et au Nord de l'Europe. Je suis si content de voir les Russes se preparer de lui faire une véritable *guerre d'épuisement* que je n'ai pu résister à l'envie d'aller la voir sur les lieux même, et je pars dans trois jours pour Petersburg. . . . Agreez, Monsieur, l'assurance de tous les sentimens d'estime et d'attachement que je vous ai voués. F. D'IVERNOIS.

J. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

LONDON, August 19, 1812.

DEAR SIR:

The enclosed Newspapers will give you a general view of the present State of affairs in Europe. The Nations of the North are combined against the Emperor of France, and have hitherto conducted the campaign with wisdom and success; while Lord Wellington has gained a victory in Spain more important in its consequences than was that of Blenheim.

Thus while America, without Troops, Ships or Revenue, petulantly declares war against England, in the mean hope of coming in at the death of the Old Lion and sharing a scrap of the spoil, Russia, Sweden, Turkey & probably Denmark—70 to 80 Millions of people, warlike and powerful—throw themselves into the opposite scale. Oh, the *supernatural* Wisdom of Embargoes, non-intercourses, non-importations, and declarations of war—the cunningly-varied machinery of Jesuitical co-operation ! ! !

But the corn of the North, & the abundant harvest now reaping here will supply the place of what we withhold; and the operations in Spain will not be palsied by our baseness; that was the object of the campaign which the great Emperor dictated to his minions in Washington.

. . . We had taken the resolution of returning to New York this autumn; but the madness of the times induces us to hesitate; the fate of the civilized world hangs on the passing moment, and I cannot but hope that the Besom of destruction will itself soon be destroyed. . . . [unsigned, but endorsed]

COL. TRUMBULL.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, L. I., Sep. 9, 1812.

I recd., my dear friend, your letter of the 22d a few days past. The imbecillity of Madison is daily more manifest, still his friends and party in general adhere to him. I think the result of the Election in No. Carolina still uncertain ; I mean as respects federal or republican superiority. Virginia is making a federal struggle, but I fear with little probability of success. Maryland will, as I conjecture, be democratical, but of what sort of democracy, whether Madisonian or Clintonian, is uncertain ; tho' Madison's influence will most likely predominate ; Dele. will continue federal. An effort is making by the Feds. and the malcontents of the democrats in Pennsylvania in Clinton's favour ; I think they will fail, as I regard democracy more firmly seated in Pennsylvania than in any of the States near her. New Jersey is uncertain, but may with federal aid become Clintonian. This State I believe at this moment to be federal ; with exertions, were it worth while, fedl. Electors might be chosen. But it seems probable that things will be ordered here favourably for Mr. Clinton's views. To-day we are told, that contrary to confident expectation, Vermont will be democratic & Madisonian. Of New Hamp-Shire I have no information. Connt., R. I. and Mass. will act together. I am not quite determined, but am inclined to attend the meeting which is to be held here on the 15th. In consequence of the New York Meeting and Resolutions we are holding County Meetings in all the Southern Counties of the State. They are numerously attended, and in some cases by men of consequence of the democratical party. In this quarter the War has dissatisfied a considerable portion of that Body ; but they are timid, and fear some inconvenience from meeting with their political opponents. It is in contemplation that the Representatives chosen by the "Peace Meetings," as they are called, shd. meet at Albany abt. the middle of Octr. I have engaged to attend the meeting shd. it be held. . . .

I am always, faithfully yrs.

R. K.

R. King to Mr. Gore.

(*Copy.*)

My dear Sir: Jamaica, L. I., Sept. 19, 1812.

I balanced much whether I would attend the meeting in New York respecting the approaching Presidential Election.* I had

*J. Radcliff to R. King.

Dr Sir: New York, Sept. 12, 1812.

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you the Corresponding Committee of the Federal Republicans of this city have directed me particularly to request the favor of your attendance at the meeting to be held here on the 15th instant; the objects of which have already been mentioned as far as my information extends.

It is not only the wish and expectation of our friends in this State, but Gentlemen from Connecticut & I believe from other States have expressed an anxious desire that you and Mr. Jay should attend this meeting. Questions of primary importance will no doubt be made and perhaps be decided, and we hope you will not fail to afford us your counsel and advice.

On behalf of the Corresponding Committee, I have the honor to be with great regard, your most obed. Jacob Radcliff.

The meeting referred to is thus spoken of by Hildreth, *United States History*, vi., p. 376: "For the purpose of deciding what course their party should take, a convention of Federalists from all the States North of the Potomac, with delegates also fom South Carolina, assembled in New York. They met privately, with closed doors, and three days were consumed in eager debates. The adoption of Clinton as their candidate was very eagerly opposed by King and others, who denounced him as a mere ambitious demagogue, a second Aaron Burr. That course was, nevertheless, finally agreed upon, principally through the urgency and eloquence of Otis, on the ground that the defeat of Madison would speedily lead to a peace, for which the door stood open in the repeal of the orders in council. The Clintonians in their turn agreed to adopt as their candidate for the vice-presidency Jared Ingersoll, a Pennsylvanian of New England origin."

Henry Adams, in *History of the U. S.*, vi., p. 410, after justly characterizing the canvass for the Presidency in New York on behalf of De Witt Clinton as being most discreditable, and giving his reasons for this opinion, says:

"Federalists held a conference at New York in September and in spite of Rufus King, who was said to have denounced Clinton as a dangerous demagogue in almost the words used by Hamilton to denounce Aaron Burr ten years before, after three days' debate, largely through the influence of Harrison Gray Otis, the bargain was made which transferred to Clinton the electoral votes of the federal States. No one knew what pledges had been given by Clinton and his friends; but no man of common-sense who wished to preserve the government and the Union could longer refuse to vote for Madison."

understood as well from the declaration made in the Boston Town Meeting, as from the Echo of the same opinion from other quarters, that it would be deemed inexpedient to name a federal Candidate, and project to co-operate with the views of Mr. Clinton : as I differed in opinion on both these points, and as (certainly without desire or gratification on my part) my name had been mentioned amongst others, I felt the difficulty that I should place myself in by becoming a member of this meeting.

Some of our friends in the city pressed me to attend, and altho' from all I had heard, I was fully persuaded that the Gentlemen who should meet would entertain and adopt opinions and measures, wholly repugnant to my Judgment, I nevertheless after full Reflexion, determined not to absent myself, chiefly because I was unwilling that my absence should by any possibility be construed to mean, what is not true in respect to my personal views.

I accordingly attended the meeting, which was composed of more than sixty Gentlemen, assembled from So. Carolina and the States east of Virginia. After receiving from the members the best information in their power to afford respecting the Character of the Electors likely to be chosen within their respective States, it was resolved " that from the information so received, it was in the opinion of the meeting impracticable to elect a fedl. President, and that it would be inexpedient to name a fedl. Candidate. 2nd that it should be recommended to the Federalists to co-operate in the election of a President, who would be likely to pursue a different course of administration from that of Mr. Madison ; and that a Committee should be appointed to collect the earliest information of the character and views of the Electors, and to communicate the same to the Federalists throughout the States."

I disapproved of the first Resolution, because I would have nominated a candidate, a respectable federalist from any quarter, not in the expectation, nay without the desire, of succeeding in his Election ; but for the purpose of keeping the federal body as entire in numbers and as unbroken in principle as possible, to the end that their character and influence may be reserved for the occasion which, in the present course of affairs, cannot fail to arrive.

I disliked the second Resolution, because it did not speak out and name the person, whom every one had in view, and because

there was no evidence exhibited that Mr. Clinton, with the aid of the federalists, can be elected, and, if elected, that he will pursue a better system than that of Mr. Madison.

I stated my sentiments to the meeting, a great majority of whom thought them incorrect. Time, wh. reveals truth, must decide between us.

I think the question who shall be President, a secondary one and quite unimportant in comparison with the attempt which we are bound to make, to preserve the freedom and Independence of the nation by reforming the Constitution. I know that our political adversaries will say that we aim at a Monarchy; perhaps some of our friends even may suspect our views. I am and shall always be ready to purge myself from this suspicion; I would lessen, sooner than increase, the presidential power. But it is idle to go into explanations upon a Subject that is now so little likely to call for attention. I am convinced that things cannot remain where they are if the war continues; a great change must happen, the signs of its approach are not equivocal. I have earnestly hoped, and thought that I had grounds for doing so, that by a prudent course we should be able to direct the change and to turn it to the advantage of the Country. These hopes have been the result of an impartial estimate of the tendency of the measures of Government, and of the most anxious solicitude to discover the duty of good and disinterested men at the present Crisis. I deprecate, and, above all other evils, fear the interposition of the Sword as the umpire of our difference. Should a civil war break out, we have no occasion in future for caucusses respecting Presidential Electors. Things will then be ordered in a different way. One chance, and only one, in favor of reform without violence has seemed to me to exist, and above every other consideration to be worthy of the deliberate attention of the Federalist—Offer a federal Candidate for the Presidency; acquiesce in Mr. Madison's re-election. He cannot in four years ruin the Country; but, if I am not egregiously mistaken, unless Peace be made, he will in that time so disgust and degrade it, that the federalists at its expiration will come into the possession of the Government, and with as great support by the People, as Jefferson had, when he succeeded Adams. Grant this, and if the Federalists should not then so reform the Constitution as to protect the

Country in future from the Evils it now feels and fears, they and their posterity will deserve to suffer the ills, which, without such reform, must crush them to the earth.

Recollect what never must be forgotten in a popular Government, that next to the power of the Sword is that of a depressed party when risen to be a triumphant one.

But Mr. Madison may make a French Alliance. If he dare, I fear he would : the country will not now bear it, and the course of his disastrous administration will render the Country still less inclined to bear it. But come the worst, let the French Alliance be made, and French troops introduced ; the certain, and I think the immediate, consequence will be a civil war and the introduction of English troops. No Event would be more calamitous, none so perilous to the public Liberties ; but this event will occur, tho' perhaps not immediately, unless the Constitution be reformed.

A new president from the Democracy would perhaps adopt measures that for the moment might mitigate present evils ; tho' I have seen no evidence that he will be either willing or able to do so. But neither a democratical nor a federal President could in the actual State of parties do anything to remove our present evils, or to prevent their recurrence. All palliatives, such as the mere change of President among Democrats, or between them and federalists, will have the effect, not only to postpone the chance of reform, but to weaken the faculty of making it, should the opportunity occur. They would have this effect by the more complete conversion of political parties into political factions ; by the inevitable progress of corruption and by the difficulty which daily increases of confining the young men of the Country to a political Creed, which is sure to prevent them from sharing in public distinctions.

No fact seems to be more fully established than that a nation may, and that too in a short period, become so debased by corruption and the agency of faction, that the Sword alone can put an end to the public misery. The Roman Empire, as we are told, was *once* offered to the highest bidder at a public sale—but our Country is in danger to be so sold at every successive Election.* If the prac-

* Montesquieu observes "that it is impossible for the leading men to be knaves and the inferior sort to be honest, and for the former to be cheats, and the latter to rest satisfied with being only dupes."

tice of corruption has heretofore been more prevalent among our adversaries than among ourselves, I fear that this distinction is henceforth at an end, enough was disclosed in our meeting to make me apprehend that those who possess the greatest means, will hereafter become the greatest corrupters. The consequence is unavoidable—there must be a speedy end of our political systems or the public Liberties will sink with them.

Against so great an evil, I have thought that we are bound to struggle ; and I had persuaded myself, tho' I have been unable to persuade others, that the re-election of Mr. Madison would produce a more favorable opportunity for a peaceful effort at Reform, then can hereafter be expected to occur.

I have believed it due to our long and uninterrupted friendship to write this letter ; especially as we were informed by one of yr. Delegates, that you * approve of the co-operation of the Feds. to elect Mr. Clinton ; and I ask the favor of you to shew this letter to Mr. Cabot, Mr. Parsons & Mr. Strong from whose opinions, as they were stated in our meeting, I feel the deepest concern in being obliged to dissent.† with sincere regard &c,

RUFUS KING.

* Observation, the Representation was wholly incorrect, and that respecting Cabot, Strong, and Parsons ill-founded.

† Among Mr. King's papers is the following account of the meeting of Federal delegates in New York, Sept. 15, 16, and 17, 1812 :

" Harper moved a Resolution, wh. was adopted by a majority, that from the information received from all parts of the Union, the election of a Fedl. Pr. now appeared to be impracticable, & that it was inexpedient to nominate Fedl. Candidates.

" It was on the 2nd day agreed to commit to a member from each State the propositions respecting the support of Dmo. Candidates for Pr. & V. P. On the third day their Report was made and accepted by a large majority, viz. :

" That it is recommended to the Federalists to support such Candidates for Pr. & V. P. at the ensuing election as would be likely to pursue a difft. course of measures from that of the now Presidt.

" And that a Comtee of 5 persons (Pennsylvanians) be appointed to ascertain the result of the elections for Electors, and the Candidates whom they wd. be inclined to support, and to communicate the same as expeditiously as practicable to the Electors of the several States.

" I opposed every part of these measures, and attempted to prevent the adoption of the first Resolution, and afterwards to amend the second so as that it should express what it means, namely to support Mr. D. Clinton. This was objected to as likely to prove injurious to Mr. C.

" In conclusion I observed that I regarded the Resolution as a recommendation

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, October 5th, 1812.

My dear Friend:

I duly received your Letter relative to the Presidential Election and the day after enclosed it to Mr. Cabot with a Request that he

of the election of Mr. Clinton—added that the practicability of such election shd. appear probable, and moreover if chosen, that we shd. have reason to expect he would pursue different and better measures; that no information was communicated respecting his views; that he was educated and practised in the principles of Democracy; that no man in the country was more unequivocal in his character. As evidence of the course he wd. be likely to follow, we should remember that he disapproved the Embargo, then receded from his opinion, and in a speech made in the Senate, wh. he published, restored himself to the confidence of the Demos by a tirade of abuse poured out upon the Feds., and that this was so directed as to bear particularly upon the Genn. of B. who must have magnanimity more than belongs to our nature, to be afterwards Mr. C.'s advocate.

"That personally I could feel no dislike to Mr. Clinton on any acct. other than that wh. arose from his political character & views; that I had had no individual intercourse with him, but that I feared, if we succeeded in promoting his election, that we might place in the chair a Cæsar Borgia instead of a James Madison—intimated however that the treatment by Madn. of the Genn. of Boston had been such in the charge of the Henry Mission that I could suppose their resentment implacable; that were I in the situation I never would forgive the injury.

"A letter from Genl. Pinckney to the Corresponding Comtee of Philadelphia declines explicitly being a candidate for the Presidency: recommends Jay or King.

"A letter from B. Stoddart, Maryland, recommends Marshall (C.J.S.) as the only man for wh. any probability existed of the vote of Virginia, and Strong V. P.: that if Virginia shd. succeed in an electoral ticket Marshall or K. shd. be the Candidate—the former preferable on acct. of his great popularity in Virginia.

"A letter from John Hopkins recommends Marshall and states that if Virga. is fedl. she wd. support Jay, King, Strong, Griswold, Pickering or any other respectable Fedst, and that Clinton cd. obtain no better support than Madn.

"A letter from Judge Washington to the N. Jersey Com. of Correspondence, who applied to him to become a Candidate, declines in a modest manner, disqualifying his abilities, and preferring his present peaceful office of a judge—Clinton rather than Madison.

"A letter from Dexter, Boston, about Piso's conspiracy agt. Cæsar: the object to shew that a Fed. Cand. shd. not be named.

"A letter from Pierson, No. Carolina, Legislature fedl.; if convened will district the State."

would send it to the Governor and C. Justice. I refrained, for the week past, from writing in expectation of seeing these Gentlemen, but as Mr. Parsons is attending Barnstable Court, whence he will not return for some days, & as I do not frequently see the Governor, owing to his constant occupation at the Council Chamber & my absence from Boston, I could no longer delay to acknowledge its Receipt.

Cabot, whom I saw yesterday only for a moment, says, while he hopes it will not be attributed to Pride of Opinion, he is really satisfied on Reflection, of the Fitness of the Measure. The Truth is, he utterly despairs of any men like those, who were denominated Federalists, ever having any influence or Power in this Country; and that the most, if not the only thing, to be hoped for, is an amelioration of our political Evils from the Election of some one of the Democrats, who having obtained his Power by Those who were opponents to the Measures of Madison, could expect to retain it, only by pursuing a different course, and that from the Interests of the Past of the Country and of his Residence, he might be inclined to an opposite System.

I early found, in conversing with Mr. Strong, that he was in favour of the project, and that he was prepossessed with very favourable ideas of the character & views of Clinton. Indeed, until this man had been a candidate for the Presidency, I never heard him spoken well of; and since last Spring, I have scarcely heard any one speak of him, but extolled the Excellency of his moral Character and the Purity of his present political Views, he having become really disgusted with the imbecile and ruinous measures of Madison. Parsons & Cabot have never thought thus. They, as I believe, have been influenced by the Considerations before stated. Many of the middle-aged and ardent Politicians of our Section of Country have become tired of waiting for Place and Distinction. They sigh to represent the U. States at some foreign Court, or to enjoy Power and Influence at Home, and believe by bringing up a new Party, consisting of Democratic Leaders, in name, they may in Reality guide the Machine of State. To such motives may be ascribed the Conduct of some of the prominent Members of Congress the last winter. The plan was hatched in Boston by Q. & the Orator of the Massachusetts Delegation to your Convention, before Congress met. It was then gravely de-

termined to join Democracy in the Cry against G. B. and declare that war with her was preferable to commercial restrictions; that many of the Federalists had been wrong; they had been more British than the British themselves, and it was necessary this opprobrium should be got rid of, by encouraging opposition to England and uniting in the Vulgar Abuse, which was belched out against her Power & her Enormities. They should then attain the Favour of Democracy and controul and direct the Councils of the Mild and amiable men who fill her Ranks, to the Glory of the Nation and their own Distinction. By possessing themselves of this Vantage Ground of Popularity, they thought to exclude from Competition many whom they considered in the Light of Rivals and who, in the Event of the Federal party coming into Power, might fill the Stations their Ambition languished for.

That the present disastrous War may be attributed in some Degree to this cunning scheme cannot be doubted, although these wise men constantly declared that the Administration dare not make war with any Nation and never could be forced into that State with G. B.

It is more than can be warranted by my Conduct, or Conversation, to say that I was for a co-operation of the Federalists in the Election of Mr. Clinton. In Midsummer I once attended a meeting of about a half a Dozen Gentlemen, where this subject was merely mentioned and it was decided to say nothing about it at that time; for it was not improbable that after the Pressure of the War had been felt, it might appear feasible to elect a Federalist; and should the Federalists, on Reflexion, think it expedient to aid in Mr Clinton's Election, it would be wise for the present to delay any Expression on the Subject.

In August I was requested, by Mr. Sullivan, to meet some Gentlemen in Boston on the subject of the Presidential Election. It rained on that day & I remained at home. The next, being in Town, I received another Note, saying the Meeting was postponed until that day, & my attendance requested. I went, no Person was there, but S. & Cabot who accompanied me. I immediately proposed that myself, Otis, Sullivan, Jackson & Thorndike should attend the meeting at N. York. S. said that Otis had made it a condition of his going that the Gentn. should go expressly and exclusively to support the Election of Mr. Clinton. Mr. C. said

something in favour of his Election. I do not recollect, and am confident that I expressed no opinion on the Subject; for it was impossible for me not to perceive that this Business had been altogether settled before. I only declared that it would not be convenient for me to go. A few weeks afterwards, on being urged by a note from the Gentlemen who went, to accompany them, and verbally by Cabot (which happened after some of them had left town, only a day before the last set off), he said to me, I do not know what your Opinion on this subject is. I replied, that without giving my own, I would state to him, what I had written to Col. North, who had requested to know what might be expected to be the Opinion of N. England in Relation to the election. I endeavoured in that letter to represent the Judgment and Views of those in this Quarter, who would have Influence in the choice of Electors. He conceded that I had made a correct Statement, so far as the Opinions & Views of such men were comprehended by him. He at first, and I believe previous to asking my own Opinion, desired to know if I could be prevailed on to go to N. York. I told him, No. That I thought the Vote of confining the Members expressly to support the Election of Mr. Clinton improper. If it were not to be an open Question at this meeting, who should be named as Candidate, and we were determined to support only the Pretensions of Mr. C., a mere letter, saying that, would be sufficient. What might have been my Judgment, had the Subject ever been discussed by me, or in my Presence, I do not and cannot undertake to say. I found men's minds made up either separately or jointly. That many whom I highly respect, are in favour of the measure I know, and certainly others, whom, to say the least, I as highly respect, and whose judgment has great Weight with me, think it teeming with evil.

with Sincere Regard & Esteem

I remain your faithful Friend

C. Gore.

CHAPTER XV.

W. King to R. King—Contradicts Miller's Statement of Latter's favoring Clinton —S. Van Rensselaer to King—Approves his Views on the Presidential Election—Engagement at Queenstown—King to W. King—Miller's Statement untrue—King to Morris—Congress should declare War with France—C. King to King—Election to Congress from Maine—People want a Change—King to Huntington—Paper in Suffolk County—Van Rensselaer to King—Candidate for Governor—King—Election as U. S. Senator—King to Gore—Election to Senate—Henderson to King—Opposition to Van Rensselaer unfounded—King's Election—Morris's Paper favorable to Peace—King to Gore—Urging his Appointment as Senator—Strong to King—Favorable to Gore's Appointment—King to Gore—Hopes he may get it—King to Troup—Trinity Church and Chapels.

Wm. King to R. King.

Boston, October 18, 1812.

Dear Sir :

On Friday evening last I attended a meeting of the Republican members of the Senate : there were present twenty-seven of the twenty-nine members. The unanimous determination was to make one more proposal to the House ; to choose the Electors by Districts : if that should not be acceded to, to make a further proposal ; to choose by a concurrent vote, each branch to name an equal number : Should the last proposition not be concurred in, the Senate will make no more, and will reject every proposal made them which has for its object a different result. So that every thing remains in this State as I stated to you was the case when I left.

The friends of Mr. Clinton are many of them here from your place ; they had previous to my arrival in town conversed with every individual of the Senate, to whom they had made different statements, such as they considered most likely to ensure success. To our brother B. Porter, a Mr. Miller stated that he was the bearer

of a message from the friends of Mr. Clinton to you, on the subject of his (Mr. Clinton's) being the Presidential Candidate ; that your reply was, that you had been opposed in the first instance, but on more mature consideration you were inclined to think favourably of the measure ; *that you believed Mr. Clinton to be possessed of intelligence and integrity and that he should have your cordial and entire support for that office.* Believing this statement, I believe Porter had made up his mind to aid Mr. Clinton, as well as many other Republican Senators. I have contradicted it, and will thank you to say to me by return of mail, if agreeable, that I have reported you correctly. There is not at this time the least difficulty respecting Mr. Clinton in this State. . . .

Affectionately your Brother,

WM. KING.

S. VAN RENSSELAER TO R. KING.

BUFFALO, Oct. 22, 1812.

MY DEAR SIR :

I had the pleasure to receive your letter covering a copy of the sound and valuable speculation upon the subject of the ensuing Presidential election which you had on the 19. Sep. addressed to our Friend in Boston.

Had my opinion upon this important subject been different from the general conclusions drawn from all your premises, I am by no means sure that I should not have surrendered it to the reasoning contained in your letter. I cannot therefore but express the very great gratification I feel on finding the opinion which I have uniformly entertained on this subject sanctioned by so conclusive reasoning & from so high authority. But however willing I may still feel to throw the little weight I can into the scale with this opinion, and urge it for practical experiment at the Election, I cannot say that I have much hope of success. The melancholy truth is, that, after all our boast of patriotism and knowledge, the political Philosophy of our Country like most of our other sciences is but superficial ; instead of paying the respect due to facts established by the history of other Republicks, or satisfactorily demonstrated to our own observation, we substitute hypotheses founded on immediate interest, or adopt maxims which best square with personal views. And hence it is in our

Republick, as in all others which have gone before us, the precious maxims of sages, discovered by deep research of wisdom and sanctioned by experience, will be swept away in the torrent of delusion, and the voice of reason drown in the violence of passion. These are discouraging considerations, but there is no halting in the path of duty. Having been several months on this remote frontier, and denied most of my sources of information, I have but very imperfect knowledge either of the opinions entertained relative to the approaching Election, or the prospect of the Candidates : but wherever I march, I find myself surrounded with evidence of the deplorable state of our distracted country. I expect soon to return to Albany and shall consider it my first duty to co-operate with my friends in adopting such measures as may be deemed best calculated to relieve our beloved country from its present state of degradation, & restoring it to the rank and prosperity it once held and enjoyed. Before this will reach you, you will have learnt that a detachment of troops from our Army on the 13 inst passed the Niagara River opposite Queenstown, had a severe engagement, dislodged the British from their works on the Heights of Queenstown, held them from day break until afternoon, and then were compelled to surrender them. But as the circumstances which led to the necessity of this movement are many, I tender this as my apology for omitting here to detail them. But I cannot in justice to myself and the brave men who fought the battle forbear saying that such were the plan and execution of it that success was complete ; but the Victory was at last lost by the absolute refusal of the militia to reenforce and cross the River. It is out of my power to ascertain the number killed and wounded ; probably the former may have been 60, the latter 170 ; and 756, nearly in equal proportions of Militia and Regulars were made prisoners of war ; the militia have returned on parole. The enemy have suffered severely ; the gallant Brock and his Aid Col. McDonnel among the slain. The misfortune of my brave Aid, Col. V. R. receiving five wounds in leading the first column to action, added to other circumstances, has induced me to assign Brig. Genl. Smyth to the command under my orders.

With great respect, your friend &c.

S. V. Rensselaer.

R. KING TO WM. KING.

JAMAICA, L. I., Oct. 23, 1812.

DEAR SIR:

I last Evg received your letter of the 18th instant, in which you inform me that a Mr. Miller of New York, in a communication to our brother B. Porter, who is a member of your Senate, stated to him that he had been the bearer of a message to me from the friends of Mr. Clinton, respecting his appointment as President, that I told him that I had been opposed to Mr. Clinton's appointment in the first instance, but that on more mature consideration I was inclined to think favorably of the measure, and that he should have my cordial and entire support—you add that in my behalf, you had contradicted the statement.

I am obliged to you for this contradiction; which from the knowledge of my opinions upon this subject, you were well warranted in making. I abstain from applying to this representation of Mr. Miller the character it deserves; but it requires me to declare that no message concerning the Presidency from Mr. Clinton or his friends has ever been delivered to me by anyone; that I have never told Mr. Miller, nor any other person, that I thought favorably of Mr. Clinton's election as President, or that he should receive my support. It is well known that I do not approve of Mr. Madison's administration—but between him and Mr. Clinton for reasons which in my judgment deeply concern the public liberties, I prefer the election of Mr. Madison.

As I am disinclined to take any share in the electioneering measures which it is deemed proper to pursue on the present occasion, I desire that you will consider this letter merely as a denial of the opinions and views, which it has been thought expedient to ascribe to me—I however request that you will communicate it to B. P.*

Your affectionate Brother,

RUFUS KING.

*Mr. Silvanus Miller published a letter in the New York *Columbian*, dated February 15, 1820, in answer to charges made in the *American*, that he had "knowingly and wilfully made a departure from truth" in stating as he had done that Mr. King had, "dismissing his former apparent caution, expressed himself without reserve to his friends and acquaintances . . . during the close of the summer or beginning of autumn (1819)," so that it was generally

R. King to G. Morris.

Oct. 28, 1812.

Dear Sir :

I send you for yr. amusement the morning Chronicle for August. You will make allowance for the opposition principles of the Editor. The correspondence between France and Russia exhibits the proof of their resolution to force Denmark to take a part agst. England and at a date antecedent to Nelson's attack at Copenhagen. Similar Treaties have been recently made between France and Russia, and France and Austria. How absurd is it

understood and so reported, that he was clearly a friend of the State administration and that be considered the opposition to Mr. Clinton "*unprincipled.*"

Mr. King pronounced these statements as entirely without foundation, says *The American.*

Mr. Miller's most unsatisfactory answer is here referred to, because *The American* states in the same article that this was the same Mr. Miller spoken of in the letter of Wm. King in 1812. Mr. Miller answers this as follows, and it will be seen how the statements correspond and how far he refutes the charge there made against him.

"One other charge is made by the Editors of the *American*—it refers to transactions which took place nearly eight years ago. . . It is said *he* (meaning the subscriber) *had the assurance to say to one of the Senators, a relative of that Gentleman* (meaning Mr. King) *in order to determine to support Mr. Clinton's pretentions, that they were approved of, and supported by Mr. King—by that Mr. King who in the assembled convention at New York, as Mr. Miller well knew, had openly denounced them &c.* This Senator, I understand, from Mr. King, to be his brother-in-law Dr. Porter, who was in the Senate of Massachusetts in the year 1812. I remember such a gentleman ; and also what were his sentiments on the presidential question. I found him an ardent friend of Mr. Clinton, was introduced to him as such, and such he continued to be while I knew him. These facts are impressed more strongly on my mind, from some remarks made by him in relation to the opposition as well of Mr. Rufus, as of his Brother, Gen. William King, who was then in Boston. The manner in which this family secret was procured, as well as its publication, were severely censured by the father of one of the Editors (Mr. King). It appears that Gen. King had written a letter to his Brother, that, I had represented to Dr. Porter that he (Mr. King) was *now* in favor of Mr. Clinton's election, enquiring whether it was so—and whether he had changed his opinions since he saw him a few weeks before—the answer from Mr. King to his Brother was *that he had not changed his opinions.*"

Mr. Miller concludes by saying, "that whole story is void of truth"; that he knew Mr. King was opposed to Mr. Clinton's election, and that it would have been "*weakness* and *folly*" to have thus misrepresented him. And yet there are these letters.

that we should talk of the Repeal of the French Decrees! Congress should declare immediate war against France and make peace with England.

Always yrs.
R. K.

CYRUS KING TO R. KING.

SACO, 17th December, 1812.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

From your kindness, attention and assistance, to me, in early life (of which I shall always cherish a grateful recollection) I willingly persuade myself, that you are not indifferent to occurrences, favourable, or unfavourable, which may prove important to me. Under this persuasion, I esteem it a duty, to communicate to you the result of the late election for Representative to Congress from this district; a Certificate of which I this day received from his Excellency the Governor. I am indeed at a loss to determine, whether you will, or I ought to, consider this occurrence, as favourable or unfavourable. When I consented to be a Candidate it was thought scarcely possible that any nomination could prevail against the present Representative; I therefore reflected less on the subject than its importance demanded; and now that success has attended the efforts of my fellow-citizens, I feel humbled and shrink from the responsibility of the situation. That it must prove a sacrifice of interest and domestic happiness, I ought to expect, and could submit to it, if I deemed it possible, with others, in any way to promote the interest of our Country. But the people in this part of the United States almost despair, by the ordinary means of our election, of a remedy for their distresses and for the disasters of our Country, if the Anti-commercial, restrictive Virginia system is to predominate in our National Councils for four years longer. As this is deemed the greatest evil that can befall the Country, any change, in the minds of people here, would have been preferable: tho' it was with extreme reluctance that our well-disposed citizens would give up men, as Candidates for the first offices of the Government, on whom they could at all times rely; nor would they, on any other ground, than that the Union, which has been promoted, might

prove a positive accession of numbers and wealth, to correct principles. . . .

Respectfully & affectionately yr. Brother

CYRUS KING.

P. S. I need not remark to you that the result of this election arose from a partial change of public sentiment from the pressure of the times—not from anything personal as to the Candidates.

S. VAN RENSSELAER TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Feby 12, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR :

Influenced by the considerations suggested in your letter I have been induced to acquiesce in the wishes of my political friends & consent to be their Candidate.* You know me too well I flatter myself not to believe that this is a sacrifice of my individual comfort & happiness to the situation of our Country. The prospect of success, I am told, is promising, altho' I am not sanguine. A prudent & liberal course of policy on the part of the Council, I am confident will have a good effect. I have not interfered, nor shall I, in any of the appointments. The reappointment of Mr. Clinton under all circumstances I approve. You are acquainted with my sentiments on that subject. I ought perhaps to say that the conduct of that gentleman has been correct this session as far as my knowledge extends.

Allow me to apologize for not sooner replying to your letter, but until a nomination was made, I thought it improper to express my assent lest it might influence the deliberations of the party.

With great respect & Regd. your friend

S. V. RENSSELAER.

Mr. King was living quietly at his home in Jamaica, enjoying his country life and little anticipating any call to serve his country in an important position. Though the Federal party had to a certain extent recovered its influence in New York, it was because the Democratic party was divided and distracted by bitter contentions in its ranks between those

* For Governor.

who favored Mr. Clinton and his opponents, who held the power by the aid of the Federalists. The correspondence, which has been given will show the motives by which the active leaders of all parties sought to obtain an advantage for their respective friends and the papers and publications of the day evince the deep interest in the issues before the people. Mr. King had not permitted himself to be connected with any of the political schemes, but continued faithfully to urge an opposition to the measures of the administration, which had pushed the country into a war with Great Britain—a war unnecessary, unjust, and carried on without preparation or vigor. He was about to be called upon to take an active part in the councils of the nation.—Mr. Jabez D. Hammond gives the following account.*

"As the term of service of Gen. John Smith, in the Senate of the United States, would expire on the 4th of March, it became necessary for the Legislature to appoint a successor.

"It has been stated that there was a federal majority in the Assembly; but that in the Senate the republican majority was greater than the federal majority in the Assembly. It was, therefore, fair to presume that a republican Senator on a joint ballot would be chosen: but the event disappointed that reasonable anticipation. Mr. Rufus King was nominated by the Assembly by a vote of fifty-five to fourty-four and Mr. James W. Wilkin, a Senator from Orange County, was chosen by the Senate. Upon a joint ballot Mr. King had sixty-eight votes and Gen. Wilkin sixty-one. There were three blank votes. What was the cause of this result? By the Tammany party it was charged to Mr. Clinton. They alleged that this was the consideration for which the federalists, in November, were induced to give the Clintonians the presidential electors. On the other hand the republicans, who had supported Mr. Clinton, insisted that it was the result of a bargain made by Gen. Thomas and Mr. Southwick, by which they agreed, that if the federalists, as a body, would vote for the incorporation of a bank, they would secure to the federal party the election of the next Senator; and there is a fact within my

* *History of Political Parties in the State of New York*, v., 344–345.

knowledge which induces me to believe that the latter supposition is the more probable."

Mr. Hammond further says, that in consequence of a request on the part of Mr. Clinton, at a later date, who had been charged as having with his friends combined to defeat General Wilkin, he had written to General Wilken and obtained an answer in which he declared his utter disbelief in any foundation for the report. He was convinced that his election was defeated by the influence and vote of the friends of the bank.*

A correspondent of the *Evening Post* writes from Albany, February 2d:

"I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. King was this day elected a Senator of the United States in the room of John Smith, an event which must afford the highest satisfaction to every true friend of his country. King 68, Wilkin 61, Blank 3."

On February 5th, Mr. Coleman, the editor of the paper, says of this election:

"We consider the conduct of the *Friends of Peace and Commerce*, whose united exertions have produced this happy result, as an auspicious pledge of what may be expected from the real lovers of their country, whenever they see it in danger. It is real patriotism alone that in such a crisis can forget petty distinctions and party names and adopt for their motto, *Measures not Men*.

"Of Mr. King himself the Editor of this paper is restrained from saying all he is desirous of saying, for he is aware of the unworthy motives to which it would by some be ascribed; but he will not be deterred from mentioning for the first time in public, that in nearly the last conversation he ever held with General Hamilton, before his death, he pronounced with great decision of manner, that Washington and Gen. Greene being gone, Mr. King was beyond any comparison, the ablest statesman this country possessed.

* "As an act of justice to Mr. King, it is proper to state that no individual of any party ever suspected that he was a party to, or had knowledge of any negotiation either with the Clintonians or the bank men."

"This anecdote is here related not for the trifling purpose of gratifying the ear of any man, but for the purpose of inspiring with a just and unlimited confidence all those who only know Mr. King from report. It shall only be added that a circle of the most respectable part of the community in which he resides, and who know him intimately, have long considered that his splendid talents, and useful as well as splendid, whenever an opportunity shall offer to bring them into his country's service, were only equalled by the utmost possible purity of his views." *

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., February 14, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR :

I returned home from town last evening where I have spent the last fortnight. You will have observed in the Public Paper the notice of my appointment to the Senate ; this decision has created some embarrassment in my mind ; I had heard that the measure was talked of ; and as it would not be effected by federal votes, which are six or eight less than the democratical votes on a joint ballot, it was plain that my election would not be effected without democratical assistance. You well know my opinion concerning the project for the election of President and I have been solicitous that no conduct on my part should in appearance even contradict that opinion. From assurances which have been given me upon the subject of the election I have thought it my duty in the actual condition of the Country not to decline the appointment, tho' I foresee, that it will break in upon, and impair the repose which in the bosom of my family I so much enjoy. Of one thing you may be assured that this appointment has been made without solicitation, nay, without the expression, or existence, of a wish for it on my part.

* Schouler writes respecting the United State Senate of 1813 :

"But a better statesman and far more experienced than either of those eminent lawyers (Gore and Jeremiah Mason) in public life, was Rufus King, just elected by the New York Legislature through an accidental local disarrangement of parties. King sat in the Senate for many years longer, the last embodiment of well-bred, and withal, moderate Federalism, courtly and polished in manners, always in full dress, with stockings and small clothes, as became one of Washington's pattern." *Hist. of United States*, ii., 379.

I shall probably pass the next winter at Washington ; the changes of men, as well as measures are so complete, that there will not be a single member of the Senate except myself, who belonged to that Body during the time of Genl. Washington. It would be a very great satisfaction to me, and moreover might be eminently serviceable to the Country if you would become also a member of the Senate.

It was said Lloyd was about to resign in the Autumn, perhaps he will determine to do so at the end of the present session. In this case I should presume, would you be induced to consent, that you would be elected—pray think of it—I know nothing which would sweeten the future years which may be allotted to me more than again renewing that intercourse and friendship which subsisted between us in a foreign Country. Our wives would fully participate in our happiness—again I pray you to think of this project. . . .

Affectionate Regards

R. KING.

WM. HENDERSON TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Feb. 21, 1813.

DEAR SIR :

I have delayed acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 10th inst. untill I could give you some information worth communicating. I found soon after my arrival here an unexpected opposition to the Patroon, as our candidate for Govr. This principally arose from gentlemen in the middle district, who seemed to consider his conduct in urging the *Militia to cross at Queenstown*, as an objection to him in the minds of the federalists, in their counties, not to be overcome. The true reason with many of them, certainly was, the preference they entertained for the Speaker Col. Van Rensselaer. I am happy to say that his conduct on this occasion, has been highly honorable, and justly entitles him to the confidence & esteem of his party. And I am persuaded he will do every thing in his power to promote the success of the candidate agreed upon. It gives me pleasure to find that the attempts to implicate you in relation to the appointment of Mayor of New York have failed. I hazard nothing in saying that your election to the Senate was *a sore disappointment* to some

of those who had been loudest in your favor ; the reason for which you may easily imagine. I can assure you, from the best authority, that *at the time* your election took place, Genl. P. (latt) believed it would be necessary to take a *third man for Mayor*, and Clinton was fully apprized that it would most probably happen. And it certainly would have ended so but for the obstinacy of Mr. P. W. R.(adcliff) who declared that on the subject of Mayor he could agree to *no compromise* by which his brother was to be sacrificed. I may add too in confidence that the Quarter Master Genl. was by no means unfriendly to you ; and he, and a friend of his, put in blank ballots on the final vote. There has been no meeting of the Council for some days, Mr. Radcliff having been on a visit to Rhinebeck. He returned last night. The Govr. has summoned them to attend on Tuesday ; what course R. means to take is yet unknown here ; and accounts from New York state the exertions of R.'s supporters there to create dissention will finally prove abortive. A paper has been received here from the pen of Mr. Morris : supposed to be submitted, as a report proper to be made at this time by a Committee of the Legislature on the state of the Nation. It contains nineteen folio pages in which among other matters are discussed, the rights of the Majority to govern the Minority in all cases ; commerce and domestic slavery as opposed to each other ; the evils resulting from the black representatives in Congress ; the embargo, non intercourse &c. ; rights of England to her own seamen, employment of the Militia, and approbation of the conduct of the Governors of Massachussetts & Connecticut, danger of a French alliance, the creation of new states, anticommercial, their votes in the Senate, there is reason to fear, will confirm such alliance. It concludes with proposing the following resolution. "that Delegates be appointed to meet at the City of New York on day of next with such Delegates as may be sent by States who have elected a Majority of Congressional Representatives, favorable to peace & commerce, for the purpose of considering the condition of public affairs and devising measures to obtain redress."

You will readily perceive that the writer thinks the separation of the States an event, that must shortly take place, if our Rulers persevere in the War. This may happen but I can see no good that can arise from any attempt that can produce it. Those poli-

ticians deceive themselves, who suppose there are men of any consideration in either party in this State who would rashly dissolve the Union. Before we part with the Government we have, there ought to be a moral certainty of our obtaining a better. In short we had "better bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." Before the Session ends some resolutions will be brought forward respecting the Militia. I wish you would let me have your ideas on the subject. Stating how far we may go in *support of our eastern friends.* The treatment the Militia complain of from the U. S. Govt., is likely to afford us greatt aid in the next election.

I am with great respect & esteem,
Yours ob. Sv.,
WM. HENDERSON.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Mar. 7, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR:

I recd. your letter of the 1st in due course, and after taking a day to consider of the prudence of doing it, I yesterday wrote a *confidential letter* to Gov. Strong concerning your appointment to the Senate in case Mr. L. shd. decline a further attendance. You may be sure that I have observed those reserves which were requisite to be attended to, as well on your account as on my own. After attending to the conditions and prospects of the public affairs and impressing my conviction that you were strongly disinclined to appear in any public station, I stated the long friendship which had subsisted between us, the intimate knowledge that I have of your experience, prudence & integrity, and the very great support of any efforts on my part to promote the public welfare, that would be derived from your cooperation—In case Mr. L. declined to resume his seat, I cannot but hope that the Govr. will renew his application to you, and should he do so, that you will consent to serve. I can imagine but one impediment on the part of Govr. Strong; if Mr. Lloyd consented to serve during the last Session on condition that he shd. be relieved at its close, the Gov. may have made some overture to some one on the subject, and the business may have proceeded too far to be recalled: Altho' I

have seen the Bill appointing an extra Session in May, I do not remember at what period in the month it will take place—How much shd. we be gratified if you and Mrs. Gore shd. accompany us, —I can most truly say, that would be a solace exceeding all others that I can anticipate—indeed as there will be not a single member of the Senate who was my contemporary, I shall find myself in the midst of strangers, and that too, in a place destitute, as I fear, of those conveniences & comforts, which alone can compensate us for removing from homes in which we enjoy the indulgences which our habits have rendered necessary.

It is possible we may do good—we may encourage & soothe the Govt. to restore peace—and shd. we contribute to this very important purpose, it shd. not fail to produce very satisfactory reflections at a future day. . . .

I am always your faithful friend,
R. KING.

P.S. be assured that I have in no degree compromised you or myself.

C. STRONG TO R. KING.

NORTHAMPTON, March 12, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have just recd. your letters of the 5th inst, and wish you to consider this as confidential.

At the session of our Legislature in Nov. last, Mr. Lloyd informed me that he should resign at the close of that Session, I therefore wrote to Mr. Gore who was at Waltham, that if he would consent, I should propose him for the office. He wrote me in answer that he must decline to accept it. The morning after the session closed, Mr. Lloyd called on me & offered his resignation: with much difficulty I persuaded him to take it back & attend our session now. I should not have been so urgent with him if Mr. G. had consented to take the office.

When I heard of your election, it occurred to me immediately that Mr. Gore might be induced to accompany you, and if Mr. Lloyd resigns before the meeting of the Legislature, which is highly probable, I have no doubt Mr. Gore, if he consents, will

be appointed : as your letter is confidential, I am not at liberty to mention the subject of it to him ; will you be good enough to write to him and prepare him for the appointment, if a vacancy occurs. What our next Legislature will be is uncertain, but if both Houses are federal, as there is much reason to expect, there is no doubt but that they will elect Mr. Gore, if he is appointed by the Executive.

I feel myself much obliged to any good man, who engages in publick life at the present time, and hope you will be so happy as to be instrumental in checking our ruinous career.

With unabated friendship yours etc.,

CALEB STRONG.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

March 18, 1813.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

I this evening received such an answer as I expected and desired from — (Gov. Strong). He says that it immediately occurred to him, upon hearing of my appointment, that it might have some influence with you to consent to what you had declined : he adds that as my letter to him was confidential, he does not feel himself at liberty to mention it to you, but desires that I would prepare for his repeating his former request, in case of a vacancy. On this point he states the resignation of Mr. (Lloyd) and that he had some difficulty in prevailing upon him to serve another Session. If the Legislature are fedl. which he thinks probable, he has no doubt that the executive appointment will be confirmed.

I have apprized my wife of Mr. — (Strong's) answer, and we both conjure you and Mrs. Gore to cast no impediments in the way of the accomplishment of our wishes. I hope Mr. — (Lloyd) will adhere to his purpose of resigning. I should indeed be disappointed should he prove inconstant. An acquaintance of his who saw him on his return home, told me that he understood from him that he intended to resign. . . .

Affectionately yours

R. K.

R. KING TO R. TROUP, ALBANY.

JAMAICA, L. I., March 29, 1813.

DEAR SIR :

I this evening recd. and obeyed your letter of the 25th. Being out of the city, I am out of the influence of passions, which the unfortunate disputes in the Church have excited. I am not, however, indifferent with respect to the disorder which has brought so much reproach upon the Church. A separation of the Churches, so that each Shepherd may have his own Flock, can alone put an end to these Disputes. I hear that some persons, who have figured in the late controversies, doubt, or affect to doubt, whether the Legislature can enable the Vestry of Trinity Church to separate, set off, and endow the chapels ; so that the members of these separated Churches shall be precluded from voting in the choice of the Vestry of Trinity Church. It seems to me very strange that this can be made a question. An exact analysis of the subject would be too long for this letter ; but I may state to you that I have carefully and I think impartially considered and examined the subject, and that the result has been a full conviction that the law is expedient, and that the Legislature are competent to pass it.*

I remain, Dr. Sir yr. ob. & faithful servant

RUFUS KING.

* Trinity Parish originally covered the city of New York, and all communicants in the city had a right to vote for its Vestry. As the city increased in size and population, several chapels were built in different sections which obtained charters of incorporation, by which they became independent parishes, exercising full power as such and thus virtually separated from Trinity. Certain individuals, friends of the Rev. Mr. Jones, but not worshippers or pew holders at Trinity, claimed, but were denied, a right to vote for Vestrymen in Trinity. This matter was brought before the Legislature, and by an act passed on Jany. 25, 1814, it was declared that persons entitled to vote at the annual elections must have been for one year preceding members of the congregation of Trinity Church, or of any of the chapels belonging to the same, and "forming part of the same religious corporation," or shall hold or occupy a seat or pew in it or theirs, or have partaken of the Communion therein within a year. Col. Troup was a Vestrymen of Trinity and a member of the Legislature at the time.

CHAPTER XVI.

Defences of the Harbor of New York—The Corporation of the City could not Act—Memorial to the Legislature to Interfere—It failed to do so—Patriotic Citizens made the Defences—King to Lord Sidmarth—Introducing his Son—King to Vansittart—Relative to his Son and deploring the War—Adjournment of 12th Congress—Inefficient Conduct of the War—Assembling of the 13th Congress—President's Message—Russian Mediation—Nomination of Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard as Envoys under the Russian Offer—Rejection of Gallatin—King's Notes of Speech on his Nomination—Dashkoff on the Russian Mission—Estimates of King.

The declaration of war with England found the harbor of New York unprotected against attacks from the British Navy, and the United States Government, with the same carelessness of preparation which was manifested in every quarter, had neglected to protect it against foreign invasion. It was felt by leading men in the city that something should be done to prevent the success of an attempt to lay it under contribution, and an appeal was made to the Corporation of the City to undertake the work. Whether Mr. King had been called upon to give an opinion as to the propriety of such action, or because he deemed it a duty to protest publicly against it, there are among his papers, two, showing that the Corporation had no power to act, otherwise than in making an earnest appeal to the General Government, or a demand of protection from it. These papers are here given.

THE CORPORATION HAS NO POWERS TO CONSTRUCT THE DEFENCES OF NEW YORK.

It being manifest as well from the nature and tenour of the articles of union, as from the general principles of all just Govt.,

that protection and allegiance are reciprocal, and therefore that the Govt. of the U. S. is bound to provide adequate defence for every part and portion of the nation, the reports of the daily papers render it expedient to call the public attention to the neccessary consequence of this obligation on the part of the U. S., namely that the duty of defending the City of New York having been assigned to the nation, it is the magistrates of the nation, and they only, who can either lawfully or advantageously perform this service.

When the power and obligation to perform a specified service is by law assigned to magistrates appointed for the purpose, they are exclusively assigned. No other persons can without manifest disturbance and confusion interfere with them in the execution of their office. Legislative, executive and judicial officers of a State are respectively charged with the performance of distinct duties, and the officers of one of these departments may not interfere, or attempt to perform the duties of another ; nor may the People, or any section of them exercise the power lawfully conferred upon the magistrates.

If this reasoning be correct, whence do the City Corporation derive the Right to interfere with the Genl. Govt. in the fortification of the Harbour ? From whom, and by what Law, have they authority to act in this business ? The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councilmen are appointed not only for limited times but for special services ; their powers have some limitation and none can be found except in the charter and certain auxiliary acts of the Legislature. It must then be evident that unless the authority to fortify the Harbour be found in these documents, they have no authority. These have been examined and without discovering that it has ever been in contemplation to vest the City Corporation with this prerogative.

Were it decent upon so grave a subject and upon an occasion so truly important, whether we regard the safety of the country or its Constitution, to test this pretense of the corporation by the supposed capacity of its magistrates for the duties to which it so preposterously aspires, there can be no doubt of the conclusion in the mind of every man of common understanding. But we have no inclination to draw into comparison the arduousness of the service and the competency of the servants. We are willing to admit for the purpose of reasoning, and we are not sure

we might not for the sake of truth, that the science, experience and consequent fitness of the committees of the Corporation are not inferior to those of the Committee of the National Committee, and this too with a better knowledge of the qualifications of the latter than of those of the former; but if we have a Constitution which is entitled to our fidelity and support, these and all other proceedings, which relate to its provisions, must be brought to its standard, and their merit or demerit ascertained by its principles. If the public defence be assigned to the National Govt. that Govt. is alone responsible to the Country that it be well defended; and no subordinate or special magistrates can without disrespect to the national magistracy interfere with, or take upon themselves, the performance of its exclusive functions.

THE LEGISLATURE AND NOT THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN CAN PROVIDE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE HARBOUR OF NEW YORK.

What is everybody's business is nobody's: and a principal end of Government is to provide for that's being done by somebody, which without such provision would be the business of nobody. Amongst the things which thus became the exclusive duty of Government is the defence of the nation in time of war against foreign enemies. Every Government is bound to protect the lives and property of the people, all of whom have an equal right to security, without discriminating such as are exposed to be first attacked on the frontiers from those who dwell in the centre or heart of the State.

Reposing thus beneath the broad shield of the nation, every one is free to attend to and pursue his particular vocation in full confidence of being at all times protected by the authority and force of the State.

The organization, arming and leading of this force belong to and are the duty of Govt.; the raising of armies, the building of navies, the erecting of forts and the establishment of arsenals and magazines are duties, in which neither individuals, towns, nor cities may have any other concern than such as may be derived from Government; and the voluntary and unasked interference of any of them in these important duties is altogether irregular and dangerous. If there were no league or confederacy between

the several States, the City of New York could rightfully call upon the State Govt. for that protection which she so eminently requires agt. for. invasion ; and there can be no room to doubt that she would ask in vain. Every man must at once perceive that a single State was less able to afford adequate protection to its people than the union of all the States would be ; and therefore in the Preamble of the Constitution it is truly declared that "to provide for the common defence" was one of the chief objects of the union of States. The General Government, by the nature and tenour of the Union, is bound to afford adequate protection not only to every member, but to every city and citizen comprised in the Union. The questions of particular exposure, of extraordinary difficulty and of great expense are not now open for consideration ; the compact is formed ; the correlative duties of obedience, of contribution, of allegiance have been faithfully and liberally performed, and the right of protection, the claims of security are consequently complete.

It is an elementary principle in the social compact that the duties of Government and People are reciprocal ; and the abdication and non-performance of the obligation of the Govt. is not only a violation of the compact, but virtually a discharge of the correlative duties of the People *towards the Govt.*, so as to leave it a mere question of expediency whether they should not withhold the same. Thus the People and State of New York, in entering into the Union, granted unlimited power to Congress over their persons and property to enable it to provide for the common defence, and in consideration of this and other powers, the Union is bound in good faith to provide for the defence of the People of New York, whether living on the sea-board or the northern frontier, whether engaged in commerce or agriculture, whether living in cities or in the country.

They not only granted this power, but Congress have made free use of it by levying a very large proportion of the public taxes within this State, taxes, which had they remained in the hands of the State, and been collected and paid into the State Treasury, would have afforded abundant means to have provided those defences which the exposed position of her ocean frontier demands. True it is, that our claim of protection would have been equally strong, had the national taxes collected within our limits

been as scanty as they have been abundant, and their magnitude is mentioned by way of showing that if great expenses must be incurred in defending our City, great and correspondent advantages accrue to the Union from our industry, enterprize and position.

The point to be established is this, that of right and according to the provisions of the Constitution the City of New York may demand of the National Government to be protected in their persons, their property and lawful employment, and that the National Govt. is bound to afford to them that protection, and is solely responsible for whatever injury may occur by reason of the denial or delay of our just demand.

But it may be observed that, admitting it to be the duty of the General Govt. to fortify our harbour, the duty however clear is neglected; the foreign affairs of the nation have been critical; war may suddenly break out, and the City without adequate defences, is exposed to great and imminent peril. In such circumstances, are the citizens to remain inactive, are they to wait till invaded before they take measures for their security? Are those the friends of the city and its inhabitants, who recommend their passive course, admitting even that the Corporation may be deficient in power; who with more propriety and advantage in the actual posture of affairs, can interfere in those arrangements without which every man of common understanding and prudence must perceive that he shall become the first victim of a furious war?

It is not ambition, not a competition for vacant power that stimulates this Body, but a strong sense of danger, acting upon an honest solicitude for the welfare, nay for the existence of their fellow Citizens. It would be both unfair and unjust to deny that this strong censure of the Genl. Govt., this plausible apology for the Corporation, is without truth or the colour of a justification. But we must recur in cases which most interest our feelings and our interest, as well as in those which address themselves to our understandings and our justice, to those immutable principles of truth and of the social Compact, which alone will invariably lead us to right conclusions.

It has already been established that by the Union of the States whatever concerns war offensive or defensive is charged upon the

Genl. Govt. The rights that before appertained to the several States on this subject have been transferred to the U. S., which now possess the entire power. Among the rights of the individual States is the dominion of, and over, all navigable waters within their limits, which by the maxims of common Law, as well as by the nature of Govt., cannot belong to private persons. In this dominion of the State all the citizens possess equal rights; he who lives remote from, equally with him who resides upon the margin of navigable waters; a city in the interior equally with a city upon the mouth of a great River; and thus results, not only from the equality in interest of all the citizens, in that which is reserved and belongs to the public, but in the present instance all have a common motive to preserve from injury a great navigable stream, which serves as their highway not only for the transportation of themselves and their goods, but as the only passage by which they can maintain an intercourse with foreign nations and their sister States.

It follows from this view of the subject, that the Legislature of the States, which represents the whole, and not the Board of Aldermen, which represents but a part, can alone authorise measures, which concern and may materially affect the rights of the whole. As well may the inhabitants of King's County and of Staten Island discuss the expediency of fortifying the Narrows, and in the execution of their ridiculous plan take steps to block up the channel, as the City Corporation. The charter gives to the City no property below low water mark even in the River contiguous to the City, nor does the jurisdiction, which relates to the admn. of justice, confer a power for other purposes.

The Board of Aldermen having no power to fortify, have none to borrow money, or to levy taxes, or to enter into contracts for this purpose. They cannot lawfully pledge the city property for this unlawful purpose, and in all but the ruinous and unheard of scheme of destroying the finest seaport of the nation, their acts will be ipso facto void.

The Corporation of New York, in February, 1813,[1] addressed a memorial to the Legislature asking an appropriation to protect the city with an exposé of its defenceless

[1] *Evening Post*, April 19, 1813.

condition, drawn up by a patriotic and able Committee of defence, of which Col. Fish was Chairman. This was read with closed doors in the Assembly; a committee was appointed to purchase munitions of war and provide temporary means of defence, and an appropriation was made of $400,000 for the purpose. The Senate reduced the appropriation to $100,000, to be expended by the Governor instead of by the committee. To these changes the Assembly refused assent and the bill fell. It would appear that on the 6th of April 600 men of the First Regiment of U. S. Volunteer Artillery, under Col. Sitcher, arrived in New York, and were set to work to break ground on the Battery, where they began to make breastworks for heavy cannon under arrangements with the Corporation. Though this work was begun, nothing more was done by the Government, but it was carried on by patriotic citizens with energy and satisfactory results. Mr. King, after taking his seat in the U. S. Senate, presented a memorial from the Common Council of New York, on June 13th, for the adoption of measures for the greater security and protection of the City, which was finally, July 2d, referred to the Department of War to consider and report thereon. But no special report appears to have been made on the subject.

R. King to Lord Sidmouth.

New York, April 28, 1813.

My Lord:

My son, Mr. Charles King, who is the bearer of this letter, will embark in a few days for Lisbon, from whence he may find it necessary to proceed to England, as his business exclusively concerns property of a considerable amount, belonging to a House of Commerce, of which he is a member, and to secure the restoration of which the proprietors may be obliged to pursue their claim in the English Court of Admiralty. I have taken the liberty, notwithstanding the unhappy war between our respective Countries, to give to my son this letter, and of requesting your Lordship to have the goodness upon this assurance of the nature of his busi-

ness, to grant him permission to come to England, in order that he may in due season adopt the requisite means to effect the recovery of the property in question.

With a lively recollection of the tokens of confidence & esteem which I received from your Lordship, during my Residence in England, I have the honor to remain with distinguished Respect and Esteem your Lordship's Most obedient servant

RUFUS KING.

P. S. I do not know whether Mr. Wilberforce continues in Parliament. In case he has not withdrawn himself, will you do me the favor, of enabling me thro' my son, to repeat to him the assurance of my constant and respectful attachment?

R. K.

R. KING TO MR. VANSITTART.

NEW YORK, April 28, 1813.

DEAR SIR:

Upon the presumption that my son, Mr. Charles King, will be permitted to go from Lisbon to London, I have taken the liberty to give to him this Letter of Introduction to you, and moreover to ask the interference of your good offices in his favor during the short time his business may detain him in England. . . . I am unwilling to ask your attention, although I am persuaded that the advice of no other person would be more advantageous.

Remembering as I do the liberal opinions which you have always professed concerning the mutual advantages of a friendly intercourse between our respective Countries, I cannot doubt that you must with me deplore the continuance of the present unhappy war. My earnest hope is that means may be fallen upon, consistent with the just claims of each party to bring the war to a speedy termination. It is likewise with equal earnestness to be desired that the mitigated manner of making war, which, for the honor of humanity, has softened its rigors, in modern days, may be duly observed, by both parties, and that none will forget that we are again to be friends.

With the highest Respect & Esteem, I have the honor to remain

Yr. Obe & very humble Servt.

RUFUS KING.

The twelfth Congress expired on the 3d of March 1813 without providing effectively for carrying on the war, which, with the exception of some brilliant actions of the navy, had been so disastrous in the operations on land; for the administration had done nothing to put the country in a condition to meet the attacks which were invited by the defenceless condition of the sea coast, had Great Britain been disengaged from the continental war in Europe, or had she seriously contemplated carrying on a war with the United States. Attempts to invade Canada had failed from inadequate provision and from the incapacity of the officers to whom they were intrusted; and British cruisers on the seaboard caused much distress by their outrageous attacks upon undefended points, pillaging and burning the towns.

To meet these troubles the Congress had done little more than to pass bills to fill the ranks and increase the staff of the army, to give five millions of treasury notes and to borrow sixteen millions of dollars to meet the unusual expenses of the Government. The necessary measures to make the use of these means effective and to support the credit of the Government were left to the new Congress, and in order that action might be promptly taken, the day of meeting of the thirteenth Congress was changed to the 24th of May, and to it was referred the performance of the duties which had been neglected.

The President during the preceding year had endeavored to strengthen the small army at his disposal, by calling upon the Governors of several of the Eastern States to summon the militia and place them under the command of his generals, but they had answered him that they were not able to see any of the conditions under which the militia could be required to serve, and especially the danger of invasion: whenever this was imminent they were ready at once to call them out.

Governor Tompkins of New York had responded faithfully to the President's demands, but he found the militia unwilling to serve as he desired, and the answer made to his

address to the Assembly of New York on the 5th of November 1812, contained this clause, that while they doubt not that the Governor has

"in facilitating the operations of the General Government been animated with a due regard to the provisions of that sound law (the Constitution) we cannot refrain from observing that neither in its spirit, nor in its letter, are we able to discover any authority to order the militia of this, or any other, State upon enterprises of conquest or attacks outside of the limits of the State."

The President had also suggested the laying of a new Embargo against Great Britain and her dependencies and passing a law to forbid the trade by citizens of the U. States under the special licenses which had been granted by Great Britain to supply provisions for the people of Spain and Portugal, these suffering greatly for the want of them while carrying on their desperate conflict with France. Though the House passed these measures the Senate treated them with "indifference if not neglect." *

It has been stated that Mr. King was elected to the Senate of the thirteenth Congress by the Legislature of New York, and to his great gratification his friend Mr. Gore had received the appointment to the same body, by the Governor of Massachusetts. Leaving their comfortable homes, they repaired to Washington to take what they could find in that city, then badly provided with hotels or boarding houses, and to enter upon the duties of their offices. The records of the Senate do not report the speeches of the members, giving only the official notices of the resolutions and proceedings under them with the votes of the members; in looking over these we find the names of both these gentlemen on important committees, whose actions they evidently assisted in directing, and their votes recorded on nearly every call of the yeas & nays. Indeed they were rarely absent from their seats. Though they disapproved of the war, they felt it to be their duty to do what they could to bring about its

* *Nat. Intellr.*, June 12, 1813.

close by strengthening the Government. The President in his message reported the reception of an offer of mediation on the part of the Emperor of Russia, which had been communicated to him "at an early day after the close of the last session of Congress," and that it had been immediately accepted; that to avoid delays "three of our eminent citizens had been commissioned, with the requisite powers, to conclude a Treaty of Peace with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain; and also authorizing them to conclude with Russia a Treaty of Commerce." He looked forward to a speedy termination of the war, as "no adequate motives exist to prefer a continuance of the war with the United States (by Great Britain) to the terms on which they are willing to close it." These terms, as may be seen, were a reiteration of the demand for the relinquishment on the part of Great Britain of the right of search and the impressment of her own citizens, which she had persistently refused to yield to. He also informed them that the loan of sixteen millions of dollars had been effected, but that adequate provision should be made for future supplies of the Treasury.*

On the 3d of May, the President sent a message to the Senate, nominating Messrs. Albert Gallatin, John Q. Adams, and James A. Bayard, as Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to negotiate a Treaty of Peace with Great Britain under the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, and also a Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain, and one with Russia.†

On June 2d, Mr. King offered in Executive session three resolutions, relative to the nominations; the first, asking for copies of the communications from the Emperor of Russia, offering mediation, with copies of the answers and dates of these; second, for copies of the Commissions of the Envoys; and third, whether Albert Gallatin retains the office of Secretary of the Department of the Treasury, and in case of his so

* *Annals of Congress*, 1st Sess. 1813–14, p. 14.

† *Ibid.*, p. 84.

retaining it, under what authority, and by whom the powers of the head of that Department were discharged during his absence from the United States.

The next day, the first two resolutions were negatived and the third was passed and ordered to be communicated to the President. To this he answered on the 7th that the office of the Secretary was not vacated, but that during his absence William Jones, Secretary of the Navy, would perform the duties, authorized therefor by an Act of Congress passed May 8, 1792. The discussion of this nomination occupied several days, and the injunction of secrecy having been removed, we find that it turned chiefly on a resolution offered on June 14th by Mr. Anderson, Chairman of the Committee to whom the matter was referred:

"that in the opinion of the Senate the powers and duties of the Secretary of the Department of the Treasury, and those of an Envoy Extraordinary to a foreign power, are so incompatible that they ought not to be, and remain, united in one person." By a second resolution the Committee, "were instructed to communicate the foregoing resolution to the President, and respectfully to confer with him upon the matter thereof."

These were adopted on June 16th by a vote of twenty to fourteen. This conference the President declined, and on July 19th after a report of the fact by the Committee, the Senate proceeded to vote on the nomination of Mr. Gallatin, and refused by a vote of seventeen yeas and eighteen nays to advise and consent to his appointment. The appointment of Messrs. Adams and Bayard was advised and consented to with but few opposing votes.*

There is no official report of the speeches or speakers in the debate on Mr. Gallatin's nomination, but among Mr. King's papers is the following report of his speech, in his handwriting and headed:

* *Annals of Congress*, 1813, pp. 86–89.

NOTES OF A SPEECH AG'T GALLATIN'S APPT AS ONE OF THE ENVOYS TO RUSSIA WHILE HOLDING SECY OF TREAS'S POSITION.

We are not disposed upon the present occasion to hold up to public observation the striking, and, we might perhaps say, the unprincipled difference of conduct, exhibited by persons who were zealous in their efforts to restrain and limit the exclusive power of the Nation under former administrations, but who, not very consistently for themselves, & with less respect for the understanding of the People than they in all cases profess, now contend for an extension of executive power upon almost every subject, and on some occasions arrogate prerogatives denied by the Constitution or repugnant to the express provisions of the Laws—provisions too manifestly established for the purpose of restraining the executive power.

It is a case of the latter sort to which we confine ourselves. Two Laws upon the same subject, one enacted in 1792, the other in 1795, give power to the President among other cases, in case of the death, absence from the seat of Government, or sickness of the Secretary of the Treasury, to appoint a person to perform his duties, until a successor be appointed, or the disability arising from absence or sickness be removed. Both Laws, so far as respects the description of the cases in which this power is granted, are in substance, or nearly so in words, the same; the first Law is without any limitation of the time during which the person appointed to perform the duties of the Secretary of the Treasury may continue to do so; the second Law expressly limits the continuance of the acting Secretary, not to exceed six months.

Mr. Madison, being called upon to inform the Senate, whether Mr. Gallatin, whom he had sent abroad, retained the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and if so, by whom & under what authority the duties of that office were to be performed during his absence from the U. S. answered,—that Mr. Gallatin retains the office of Secretary of the Treasury and that under the law of 1792 Mr. Jones performs his duties of Secretary.

Two important points arise out of this answer—the first regards the constitutional validity of the foregoing Laws of 1792 & 1795; the second respects their just construction. It is doubted whether those Laws, so far as respects the power of appointment by the

President of a person authorized to discharge the powers & duties of the Secretary of the Treasury, who is the head of a great Department, are constitutional.

By turning to the Constitution it appears that "The President shall nominate & by and with the advice of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers & Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court & all other officers of the U. S. whose appointment is not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such *inferior officers* as they think proper, in the President, in the Courts of Law and in the heads of Departments."

Except in the case of inferior officers, Congress cannot by law authorize the President alone to make appointments. The question is a plain one—Can the Secretary of the Treasury be considered as (one of) the inferior officers? We think not because the Constitution demonstrates him a principal officer, in whom may be vested the power of appointing the inferior officers of his own Department. Indeed we hardly know where to look for superior officers, if the heads of the Departments are to be considered as inferior ones.

Notwithstanding the importance of this particular enquiry, especially on account of the increasing disposition in Congress to dispense with the consent of the Senate in the appointments of officers—a practice which unconstitutionally enlarges the power of the Executive—we pass on to consider the second point—what is the just construction of the Laws authorizing the President alone to appoint a person to discharge the duties of the Secretary of the Treasury?

In the instance of Mr. Gallatin, does a case exist in which the President alone has power to appoint a person to discharge his duties? Admitting such case to exist is the appointment of such person indefinite, or limited to six months?

The cases described in the Laws, in which the President has the sole power of appointment, are the death, absence from the seat of Government, or sickness of the Secretary of the Treasury. The first and the last case, the death & sickness of Mr. Gallatin, need not be considered. But is his appointment as an Envoy to Russia, admitting its validity, and his consequent absence from

the U. S., such an absence from the seat of Government as the Laws provide for?

As the two cases of death & sickness, being involuntary, may require extraordinary provision, so likewise the occasional and necessary absence of the Secretary of the Treasury from the Seat of Government, may equally call for the like provision—his family may be sick, his estate and private affairs at home may demand his attention, and other urgent duties may oblige him for a short time to be absent from the seat of Government. As in the case of death time may be counted to find a suitable character as a successor, and in the case of sickness it must be allowed for recovery, so in absence from the seat of Government time should be granted to those private and necessary duties, which call for the attention of every man. It is for such an absence as this, that provision is made by the Laws—an absence arising out of the situation, circumstances & duties of the person, who is Secretary of the Treasury—not an absence created by the President himself, nor one proceeding from the acceptance of another office, the duties whereof are incompatible with those of the Secretary of the Treasury.

If such be the construction, and especially if the substitute appointed by the President is to continue indefinitely, the heads of Departments may all be converted into ambassadors, & the business of the nation conducted by undertakers or job men.

Admitting however, that the two Laws are constitutional, and that the mission of the Secretary of the Treasury to Russia is merely an absence from the Seat of Government, has the President power to appoint a substitute who may for an indefinite time discharge the duties of the Secretary of the Treasury, or is such an appointment restrained so as not to exceed six months? The first law is entitled "an act making alterations in the Treasury Department"—the second is entitled "an act to amend the act making alterations in the Treasury Department." By examining the two Laws, it will be seen that so far as respects the grant of power to the President, the second act grants, with an enlargement, the same power as the first. The repeating of what was already granted, cannot be deemed an amendment, and the principal difference between the two acts consists in the limitation of the President's power, contained in the second act,

& by which instead of the Substitute's being enabled to discharge the duties of his Principal for an indefinite time, he is restrained from doing so for a *longer* time than six months. This is the chief amendment of the first law by the second.

The Title to the second Law declares it to be an Act, not in addition to, but to amend the first Law. The first and second Law must therefore be construed together, or taken as one Law, to the end that the provisions of the first may receive the alteration or amendment contained in the second.

We have said the grant of power to the President is nearly the same in each Law—according to the law of 1792, on the death, absence from the Seat of Government, or sickness of the Secretary of the Treasury whereby he cannot perform the duties of his office, it shall be lawful for the President of the U. S. to authorize any person to perform the duties of his office, *until* a successor be appointed, or until such absence or inability by sickness cease. The law of 1795, entitled an Act to amend the former Law, provides, that in case of *Vacancy* in the office of Secretary of the Treasury, whereby *he* cannot perform the duties of his office, it shall be lawful for the President of the U. S. to authorize any person to perform the duties until a successor be appointed, or such vacancy filled—Provided that no vacancy shall be supplied for a longer term than six months. Does the word vacancy, in the second Law, describe the cases of death, absence and sickness of the first? Altho' technically speaking no office is vacant in which there is an incumbent, yet in common discourse we may say that an office is vacant by the death, or by the absence, or by the sickness of the officer—meaning thereby that in either case there is no one to discharge its duties—and as one, if not the chief, object of the second Law was to limit the term, during which a locum tenens might perform the duties, the word vacancy, made use of in the second Law in reference to the cases mentioned in the first, sufficiently decribes them.

The second Law refers to some case in the first. If it does not so relate to all the cases mentioned in the first Law, it must necessarily be limited to the case of vacancy by removal or resignation. But what reason can be suggested why the limitation should apply to the case of a vacancy by removal and resignation, and not to that of death, or to those of indefinite absence

or a lingering sickness? In case of resignation or removal, equally as in that of death, a successor would be sought for and soon found, and there would be no greater occasion for a limitation in one more than another. But a favorite might be indulged with a term of absence disadvantageous to the public service, or a sickness might happen, which altho' it should not terminate the life, might destroy the capacity of the Patient. Do not these last cases limit as much as the others? If the officer be dead, resigns, or is removed, the competition for his place will be such that, if motives of public duty do not urge the appointment of a successor, such is the avidity for office that considerations of personal repose would not fail to produce it. There was no sufficient motive therefore to induce the Legislature to pass the second Law to limit the term of the locum tenens in the case of a vacancy by resignation or removal, that would not apply to vacancy by death. But experience has shewn that sickness has for year after year incapacitated public officers from discharging their duties—and if an absence from the seat of Government, or what is the same thing, an absence from office be indulged from favoritism or any other motive, beyond what is reasonable, and to the injury of the public service—if the great officers of State be allowed to perform their duties by Deputy, and in the mean time to accept other high stations, contrary to the principles of a free and equal Government which distributes its honors with impartiality among the citizens, avoiding the accumulation of them upon individuals—if proceedings like these be equally impolitic and offensive—if they may happen under the Law of 1792, is it not reasonable so to construe the Law of 1795, as to apply the salutary limitation which it provides as an amendment of that Law? Is there any violation of the meaning & use of words in thus construing the two Laws? Does it not comport with the Principles of our limited Government to establish this construction, and can any inconvenience or hardship arise from its establishment?

The Law of 1795, enacted to amend, and pursuing the provisions of the Law of 1792, declares that in case of vacancy in the office of Secretary of the Treasury, whereby *he* cannot perform the duties of his office, it shall be lawful for the President, &c. A vacancy whereby *he* cannot perform his duties, seems to refer to the vacancy created by absence or sickness, rather than to the

vacancy by death, for the Secretary is referred to as living, but unable to do his duty. The concluding words of the paragraph require this construction in order to give them any meaning; and the rule is that we must, if possible, give to every word a meaning. In case of vacancy in the office of Secretary of the Treasury, whereby he cannot perform the duties of his office, it shall be lawful for the President to authorize any person to perform the duties of his office until a successor be appointed, *or such vacancy shall be supplied*—provided &c— Now if only a vacancy by death be here intended, it would have sufficed to have said, that it should be lawful for the President to authorize any person to perform the duties of the Secretary's office until a successor be appointed. But the Law adds, "or such vacancy be filled"—what vacancy be filled? not that created by death, for it is already provided for; it must therefore refer to the vacancy created by absence from the seat of Government & by sickness, which might be filled not by a new appointment but by a return to the seat of Government, or the recovery from sickness.

In another abstract of argument on this matter R. K. closes thus:

Thus Gallatin's office became vacant by accepting an incompatible office. The President had power to appoint a deputy for six months—since the expiration of which, the office has been and is now vacant.

In R. King's handwriting is an interesting paper on the Russian Mission.

GALLATIN'S MISSION.

JUNE 25, 6, & 7.

In conversation with Daschkoff, he informs me that in January he intimated to Mr. Madison * that the Emp. of Russ. wd. find

* The *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 8, 1813, says: "A Boston editor asserted he was prepared to prove the proffered mediation of Russia to be the unauthorized act of the Russian Minister." This was denied. "The editor has the hardihood to make the following assertion: 'We aver that Mr. D. made his first verbal overture to Mr. Madison on the 29th of January, which Mr. Madison then declined.'" The *Intelligencer* says: "This is merely a repetition of what was said in Congress, afterwards repelled by Mr. Eppes in the most positive manner."

pleasure in mediating between G. B & the U. S.—D. did not say that he did so in obedience to instructions ; I rather inferred the contrary—that the Pr. recd. the intimation with indifference. On the 24th Mar. (Feb. ?) D. recd. Instructions to offer the mediation of Russia, wh. he did verbally on the following day to Mr. Monroe, who recd. it civilly & ad referendum ; that he recd. no answer until after the 3d of Mar, when the Pt made his inaugural speech referring everything to ye. vigorous prosecution of ye. war—that he became uneasy lest the mediation shd. not be accepted—that he wrote a Despatch to his Gov. expressive of his fears—that he apprehended the difficulty to arise from the ties wh. bound the U. S. to Fr. After Congress adjourned Monroe announced verbally the acceptance of the mediation and the notes of the 8 and 11 immediately followed—that, after accepting the mediation, no intimation was given to D. concerning the number or names of ye. envoys, and he became solicitous lest the Business shd have been referred to Adams, who, as he apprehended, wd. embarrass the negotiation—that difficulties respecting the Loan were known to exist ; if the mediation went forward and was given in charge to able men, the Loan would be obtained, but otherwise it was doubtful. Gallatin's name came up. Parish & Girard wd. come forward to make ye. Loan if he was named an Envoy—this influence had its effect—besides as Gallatin was a Min. of ye. Cabinet, it wd. be complimentary to Russia to send him, &c.

That Daschkoff's application for a Passport for the Envoys was made on ye. 25 Mar—Adl. Warren affected to be displeased that he was not applied to to negotiate a Peace, and instead of it yt. the negotiation was transferred to Russia—indirectly insinuated that he had full power—D. asked an interview with Ad. Warren on shore wh. the Ad. declined.

D. does not know whether Warren has power to agree to an armistice upon condition of the Repeal of ye. non-intercourse. Swertchkoff, a young man, and his communications, confined to the special objects of his mission to ye. admiral. The late application for a Passport for the Hannibal was made to Adl. Cockburn, Warren being absent—the object was a Passport for a Russian messenger to carry out duplicates of the offer & acceptance of the Russian mediation ; as it was possible that the

vessels carrying the Envoys & D's Dispatches might fail or miscarry.

Admiral Cockburn granted the Passport. No mention was made of any intention to carry out Moreau—the Adl. was told that the Sp. wd. take a cargo. He replied that in his Passport he wd. recommend to the King's Sps. to suffer Sp & cargo to pass, but that she must take her chance agt. Privateers. Serurier, (Fr. Min.) knew of the offer of ye. Russian Mediation, but at the moment was pressed & chafed by the Depart. of State concerning the French Decrees.

That there was no fear of Gallatin's being the channel of French intrigue at St. Petersburgh, as there are as wise men as he is at that place.

SUNDAY, June 27.

Armstrong said Daschkoff, Gallatin & Parish intrigued to have Gallatin appointed to Russia—that Daschkoff had a slice in ye. Loan—that Bibb had arrived, but that he did not think Anderson wd. give way and vote for Gallatin; he saw him yesterday, was then undecided—Clay had been named as the 3d Envoy but was displaced for Gallatin—that Monroe did not like Gallatin's appointment; perhaps the Com. of the Senate had better see Monroe, who might say something to induce the negative of Gallatin—that the Project of putting Monroe at the head of the army was revived—that formerly Gallatin recommended the project, as he anticipated two Results from it—1st that he shd. obtain the off. of Secy. of State, and second that Monroe wd. disgrace himself the first campaign. Monroe thought if he put a sword by his side and got old Burbeck's orderly Book that he should be equipped for Commander of the Army—that he knew nothing of war & was without experience—that Russell named Envoy to Sweden would command Howell's vote, and if he, Russell, could be passed as Minr. to Sweden, that Howell might be bro't to vote agt. Gallatin.

This chapter is closed with statements of the estimation in which Mr. King was held at this time.

From the New York Evening Post, July 19, 1813.

Hon. Rufus King.—It is with no small sensations of pleasure, that we copy the following article from the "MARYLAND GA-

ZETTE," printed at Annapolis. We are happy to perceive that the worth and talents of this patriot and statesman is beginning to be understood and duly appreciated in the southern section of the Union.

From the Maryland Gazette, July 16th.

The Hon. Rufus King.—All who have had an opportunity of witnessing any important discussion in the Senate, in which Mr. King has taken a part, have almost universally assigned him the palm. His talents are spoken of in more exalted terms, even by his political opponents, than any other member of that body, and we do not think it would be too much to say, that he is superior at this time to any other man of which the United States can boast. Bred up in the service of his country, and guided by the strictest integrity, he has justly acquired a reputation which entitles him to the confidence of his fellow-citizens. With such a man at the head of our government, we might soon expect to witness a change in the gloomy aspect of our affairs, and that scene of prosperity again restored which formerly spread its blessings around us. For many years he has lived in the retirement of private life, and his talents when greatly required, have been lost to his country. But since all parties now unite in speaking his praise, it is sincerely to be wished that his councils may produce that effect, which they so eminently deserve. If ever there is a time when honest men come again into fashion, it would be the pride of our nation to have a statesman like him to direct its affairs. But as long as the people are controuled by those wild opinions which seem now to actuate them, they never will be able to distinguish between their real and pretended friends. The only hopes that can be entertained at present are, that those sufferings, which they have already experienced, and those which yet await them, will learn them to discriminate between those who look at their best interests, and those who pursue the idle phantoms of a distempered imagination.

Major John Lovett, who had been with Genl. S. Van Rensselaer during his campaign on the frontier, and was elected a Member of Congress from Albany in 1813, thus writes to

Col. Solomon Van Rensselaer June 22, 1813,* apparently in reference to an appointment in command of the army in the Northern States:

"I could have wished to see Mr. King [Rufus King] on the subject, for I can assure you he is, here, the very *Oracle* with democracy. I think they would be heartily glad to hustle poor Madison [James Madison, President) and this scant-patterned old skeleton of a French Barber [Elbridge Gerry, Vice President] off hand and make Mr. King factotum in all things. . . . The plain truth is, that *Federalists* do not like you to go into the army ; especially as they calculate with moral certainty that the campaign is to close with defeat and total disgrace."

* Mrs. Bonney's *Legacy of Hist. Gleanings*, vol. i., p. 301.

CHAPTER XVII.

Attacks of the *National Intelligencer* on the Senate—Rejection of the Nominations of Gallatin and Russell—King's Defence of the Senate—Justification of Refusal to advise sending an Embassy to Sweden—President's Refusal to meet a Committee of Conference from the Senate—His Course reviewed—Gallatin's Rejection reviewed.

In looking over the files of the *National Intelligencer* in 1812–13 there will be found many editorial articles, defending the administration and severely criticising the Senate for their failure to endorse the President in the suggestions in his Messages both as to domestic and foreign affairs. Mr. King, a member of the early called session of Congress in 1813, was, as has been seen, conspicuously obnoxious on account of his course relative to the nominations of Mr. Gallatin to Russia, and of Mr. Russell to a Mission to Sweden, both of whom were rejected by the Senate, the former for reasons already given, the latter because it was not deemed wise to send an embassy to Sweden.*

* There is in the *Evening Post*, Nov. 27, 1812, an editorial article saying that "the statement of Mr. Russell of a conversation which he alleges had passed between him and Lord Castlereagh respecting Mr. King's having been in an error in supposing that the question of impressment was on the point of being satisfactorily settled, was not correct." This was challenged in the *Public Advertiser*, which consented to rest the question "upon the authority of Rufus King, *whose testimony shall be considered conclusive.*" The editor of the *Post* responds by saying, that during the electioneering contest, Mr. King would hardly be willing "to say anything that might be construed into an interference; but that he could not but hope that he would not refuse to state the facts to show where the truth lies."

It is probable that this was the reason for a long review of Mr. Russell's correspondence in England, which was published in "many successive numbers of the *Evening Post*," signed by "an American," the name Mr. King assumed

The constant and bitter articles of the *Intelligencer* appear to have so roused Mr. King that he wrote the following article, which is found among his papers, in defence of the Senate. Though long it is very interesting, and is published at length. It may be advisable to show first the character of some of the *Intelligencer's* articles, from one of which, of August 10, 1813, these extracts are made. It speaks

"of the arbitrary, unaccountable and as we conceive indefensible conduct of the Senate. . . . Far be it from us to question the constitutional powers of the Senate or to cripple their undoubted rights but we do hold up our hands against the general course of that body during the late session, and more particularly against the attempt to overawe the Executive and to chaffer with him as to terms on which they would agree to confirm certain nominations. The President refused to sanction this procedure, and in *resentment*, it would almost seem, of his spirited and constitutional conduct, they rejected two important nominations to foreign embassies."

The Senate had asked for a conference by a committee with the President about these nominations, but were refused and referred to the Secretary of State. They declined to confer with him, and the article goes on to say, they resolved that

"It is inexpedient to send a minister to Sweden! Inexpedient, not because the information they had received proved it so, but, as we must conclude from a view of the whole proceedings, because the President refused to hold a colloquy with the committee of conference."

Defense of the Senate.

Reflecting men must regret that indecent as well as unmerited attacks are made upon the Senate, in the official Paper of the Administration. If disagreements take place between different

when writing in that paper. The length of the article prevents its publication here; but his letters given in several places in these volumes conclusively show what he thought upon this subject, and his firm belief that the matter might have been settled, had he not returned home at the time.

Branches of the Government, the matter of such disagreement being published, the merits or demerits of such disagreement are considered and decided by the people. If public discussion takes place, it may assist those who were deficient in information, in forming their opinions. But that one Branch of the Government should directly, or by permission, cause another Branch of it to be assailed in order to depreciate its proceedings and to bring upon it the public hatred or contempt, admits neither of apology nor justification. It requires no proof that the National Intelligencer is a Government Paper; that sort of connexion which exists between it and the Government places it under the control of the administration; it is this connexion alone which occasions the extensive circulation of this Paper, and authorises the opinion so generally entertained that whatever is published in it concerning the views and measures of Government, has either the sanction of the Administration or is not disapproved by it.

The Letters from Military and Naval Commanders, the diplomatic correspondence, the official acts of the Executive and of its Departments, first appear in this journal, and from it are copied into the newspapers throughout the Country: these facts can leave no doubt that this Paper is under the control, if not the direction of the Administration.

Toward the close of the late session of Congress, several Publications criminating the Proceedings of the Senate appeared in this Paper. Dissertations of the same imprudent character have since been addressed to the Public thro' this journal. It would be falling into the misbehaviour which we disapprove, were any recrimination allowed on this occasion; but misrepresented and censured as the Senate have been, it will not be thought strange if something is said in their vindication. The Senate are a great, the greatest, power in the Constitution, created not for the sake of its members, but to impart wisdom, stability and safety to the Laws; to check favoritism in the appointments to office, to control the compacts with foreign States and to try and remove from power public offenders, from the lowest to the highest office in the Nation. So that great dignity, as well as great power are attributes of the Senate. The members are of advanced age and the safety of their choice is entrusted to the wisdom and patriotism of the Legislatures of the respective States. When the Senate become

corrupt, when their acts are habitually unjust and impolitic, above all when they become the instruments of faction and of violence, they cease to be the safeguard which the Constitution aimed to establish, and the chief security of the public freedom will be lost.

The causes of complaint against the Senate may be divided into three distinct branches : first their disagreement to the President's nomination of Mr. Russell to be Minister Plenipotentiary to Sweden ; 2nd their refusal to advise and consent to Mr. Gallatin's appointment as one of the Envoys to negotiate with and sign a treaty of Peace with England under Russian mediation, and to negotiate and sign a treaty of Commerce with Russia ; and 3rd, their rejection of Mr. Hamilton, nominated by the President to be Loan Officer in So. Carolina. Each of these causes shall be considered, beginning with the first.

It has been the established and we may presume the safe policy of the Nation to limit its foreign ministers to as small a number as possible. Notwithstanding that the office is created by the Constitution, the first Congress, with the view of restraining the unnecessary appointment of foreign Ministers, appropriated only 40,000 dollars annually for the support of such persons as the President should commission to serve the United States in foreign parts, and for the expense incident to the business in which they should be employed ; the same law established the outfit and salary of the foreign Ministers to be employed.

Gen. Washington accordingly commissioned only two Ministers Plenipotentiary, one to France, the other to England. He also commissioned a Minister Resident to Portugal, to Holland and perhaps to Spain—the Minister to which country was afterwards advanced to the rank of a Minister Plenipotentiary. There are those who will recollect, that at this early day much jealousy existed concerning the sending and receiving of foreign Ministers ; it being feared that constant employment would be as likely to embroil as to pacify nations. Hence a doubt did, and still does, exist whether instead of the employment of Resident Ministers, it be not the policy of the Country to send them on such special occasions as may arise with us, to return home when such special business is done. We touch this important subject but incidentally —and return to the policy heretofore observed of sending ministers only to those nations with whom our intercourse and com-

mercial relations were the most considerable. With the Powers of the Baltic, of Germany and of Italy, we have had no such intercourse as required an interchange of ministers; with most of them our correspondence has been quite inconsiderable. The part which Russia has taken in the affairs of Europe places her among the great powers, and from various considerations it is perhaps not incorrectly believed to be sound policy to maintain a diplomatic intercourse with her: altho' this mission when undertaken looked like a co-operation with France in the establishment of the continental system.

During the experiment to exclude from the Continent the intercourse of England, the American trade to the Baltic was harrassed from the ports of Denmark, and sending a special minister there by our Government was a measure of discretion; perhaps it ought sooner to have been done: the business being finished, the mission is discontinued. In Sweden, owing to the peculiar circumstances and policy of the Government no such embarrassment to our trade happened; and as the other Ports of the Baltic were closed or obstructed, a number of our vessels resorted to Gottenburg, as a place from whence they might distribute their cargoes, as openings for the same should offer. Since the breaking out of the war between Russia and France, most of the American property at Gottenburg has been thus distributed.*

With Sweden the United States have ordinarily very little trade. Sweden is a poor country without manufactures, having nothing to sell but iron, lumber, tar, pitch, turpentine. We sell to Sweden little, and of our own productions nothing. Sweden is a secondary power, and for more than a century her policy has been controled in turn by France, by Russia and by England. It is a remarkable fact in her history that the popular liberties of Sweden have been from time to time promoted by foreign Powers, who thereby acquired means of influence which a more simple form of Government might not afford: it is unnecessary to say upon this topic, what, perhaps might with truth be told—tho' a confined, Sweden has nevertheless been a most active scene of foreign intrigue and, it also is said, of corruption.

* Sweden having made peace with England and united with Russia against France, such portion of the American property as remains in Sweden is in no danger, and therefore requires no minister to protect it.

With Sweden, therefore, we have little or no commerce—thro' Sweden we cannot expect to influence in our favour any other Power, with whom we may have unsettled questions, for Sweden, instead of influencing others, is herself influenced by others. The American property, which a casual state of affairs deposited in Sweden, is chiefly disposed of and has never been in danger. What motives, therefore, could there be permanently to maintain in Sweden a Minister Plenipotentiary, with the same rank and emoluments as our Ministers to France & England?

The President in his Message says that the Swedish Government having repeatedly manifested a desire to interchange a Public Minister with the United States and having lately appointed one with that view, and other considerations concurring to render it at this time advisable to make a corresponding appointment, he nominated Mr. Russell to be Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Sweden. Mr. Russell having been left by Genl. Armstrong in charge of our affairs at Paris, is the person to whom the Duke of Bassano, as he asserts in his letter to Mr. Barlow, communicated, at the time of its date, the French Decree of April 28, 1811, respecting the Berlin and Milan Decrees. This important Decree did not become public until more than a year after its date; it was the duty of the Senate to inquire whether Mr. Russell had been guilty of suppressing this communication of the Duke of Bassano, as, in case of such suppression, however important the Mission to Sweden might be, Mr. Russell ought not to be the Minister. The Secretary of State, upon the enquiry of a Committee of the Senate, informed them that there was no official document in his office, admitting or denying on the part of Mr. Russell such communication from the Duke of Bassano; but that in a private letter of Mr. Russell it was understood he denied such communication.

The President was then requested by the Senate to communicate to them the correspondence that had passed between the United States and the King of Sweden, relative to the interchange of Public Ministers. In compliance with this request, the President laid before the Senate a report made to him by the Secretary of State saying, that no doubt correspondence with the King of Sweden had taken place, but that in reference to the call of the Senate, the Secretary submitted to the President, who transmitted

the same to the Senate, extracts of several letters from Mr. Speyer, the American Consul in Sweden, and a letter from Mr. Beasley, Commissary of American prisoners in England. These Documents are before the public and it is therefore unnecessary to republish them. It may however be remarked, that the *repeated manifestation* of the desire of the King of Sweden to interchange Public Ministers with the United States is to be found in the correspondence of Mr. Speyer, the American Consul at Stockholm, who (altho' it may appear inexplicable in New York, where Mr. Speyer and his performances are known, how he became a Consul) pretty plainly shews that he aspired to become the American Minister in Sweden. Cunning little Isaac, he was doubtless put up to this work by those, who, he little thought, were themselves to derive the benefit of it. If such be the corruption of their youth, said Fauchet, what will it be in their old age? Mr. Beasley was appointed and left by Mr. Russell as Commissioner of Prisoners, and doubtless felt some gratitude for the kindness. The Government knew, altho' the Public do not, who first sent Mr. Speyer * to London—and what was the motive of being sent. The trio of Russell, Speyer and Beasley is in some respects extraordinary: there is a similitude of condition among these men, which seems to have become the occasion of friendship. It is said, tho' we cannot assert the fact, that they have all been bankrupts and have all gone abroad, as the Servants say, to better their condition; and it must be confessed their speculation upon our able administration has not been deficient in discernment; Speyer became Consul at Stockholm, Beasley, Commissary of Prisoners in London, and, in consequence of the correspondence, their friend and patron Russell was well nigh touching his appointment to Sweden!!!

The Senate having thus ascertained from the Department of State that there existed no official denial on the part of Mr. Russell, that the Duke of Bassano communicated to him the Act of the 28 of April 1811, repealing the Berlin and Milan Decrees; and hav-

* We are assured that Speyer is a German or Polish Jew; but whether he be a connexion of Speyer, the rich Jew, who was at the head of the contractors to supply Bonaparte's army upon the retreat from Moscow, we have not been able to learn. We however suspect he is of a different tribe, as in this case he would in preference to Russell, have been nominated Minister to Sweden.

ing moreover ascertained, from the report of the Secretary of State, the extracts of Speyer's and Beasley's letters, that no direct correspondence had taken place with Sweden respecting an interchange of Public Ministers; and from whatever motive, or how brought about, that Sweden had appointed Mr. Kantzou to be only a Minister Resident in the United States—a grade only of the third rank, the difficulties in the way of confirming Mr. Russell's appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary, a grade of second and highest rank, which the United States have ever appointed to, were rather increased than diminished. The Senate therefore committed the whole subject to another committee with instructions to confer with the President respecting it.

Two objects were doubtless in view in the adoption of this measure.

1. To ascertain whether there were really any reasons of State, or other public motives, not known to the Senate, in favor of this Mission.

2. Whether considering the immense increase of expenses of late years in sending and maintaining abroad foreign Ministers, and the necessity of strict economy at the present juncture, a special Minister might not be substituted for a permanent one; and in case a permanent one was deemed necessary, whether a grade corresponding to that of the Minister appointed by Sweden, would not be more economical, more consonant to the practice of the United States, and more agreeable to the etiquette and usage of nations on similar occasions.

It is presumed that the President must have anticipated these enquiries. Had the President received the Committee, and by the communication of additional reasons in favor of the Mission, satisfied the Senate of its expediency, and had he moreover modified the nomination of Mr. R. it is not improbable that the Mission would have been sanctioned. This however is mere matter of inference deduced from the character of the Senate and the Democrats upon the subject before the People.

It is plain enough from these documents that the President intended to receive and confer with the committee: but a similar course had been adopted by the Senate in respect to the nomination of Mr. Gallatin, and a committee had been appointed to confer with the President upon a specific point, connected with Mr.

Gallatin's nomination—upon a point the difficulty of which could be removed by the President alone.

In this situation of the business, the President, by a message to the Senate, declined the conference, and attempted to justify himself by a construction of the powers of the Executive and of the Senate, which is believed to be unsound, contrary to original usage, and inconvenient to the useful discharge of the duties of the President and Senate.

Upon the first operation of the Constitution, the Senate appointed a committee of three of its members to confer with the President, Genl. Washington, and to digest with him the manner in which the Senate should give their advice and consent in the making of treaties and appointments to office. The obvious course, pursued in analogous cases by the Governor and councils of the several States naturally suggested itself and was adopted. A nomination or a Treaty being made, upon a future day the President was to come to the Senate, or to convene them at his own house, when such nomination or Treaty, in his presence, was to be considered and decided. This arrangement was mutually convenient, the objections of the Senate would be known and might be removed by information communicated by the President ; and the practice under it would have been followed with public advantage, had not an occurrence that happened at one of these meetings occasioned its discontinuance. The Senate have justly regarded their body so much in the character of constitutional advisers of the President, that a rule is believed to exist regulating the course and manner of these proceedings when convened in that character in the Senate room or elsewhere. Has it become a question whether the Senate or the heads of Department are the constitutional advisers of the President? The safety of the States, as well as the principle of the Constitution would seem to settle this point. The self-named cabinet, composed of the heads of Departments is unknown to the Laws and Constitution, and their employment as such is an ill-judged imitation of the administration of another country.

The nomination to all offices and the initiation of all Treaties with foreign powers belong to the President, but neither Treaty nor appointment can be made without the advice and consent of the Senate : to give this advice and consent the Senate must ac-

quire the requisite information to enable them to give it : from whom can they ask it except from the President ? This information which produces the nomination, it may be presumed would produce its confirmation. The instructions and correspondence respecting Treaties are in the Department of State. It is to the President therefore that applications for such information should be made by the Senate, and it admits of no doubt that the President is bound to impart such information to the Senate when requested. To make a difficulty concerning the manner affording the same is throwing embarrassment in the way of executing the powers of the Constitution and to place more importance upon the form than upon the substance.

The mode which would be least inconvenient and most effectual deserves a preference : no unnecessary and mere forms should defeat the easy discharge of a Public Duty : if a request of information from the President be made, thro' a Committee of the Senate, it surely is more respectful than a Resolution asking for it and transmitted by their Secretary. When the two Houses of Congress are formed at the beginning of a session, the President is notified thereof by a joint Committee and before the close of the session a similar Committee notifies the President, that their business being finished they propose to adjourn, unless he has any new matter to lay before them. The President has never declined receiving these committees or giving them an answer.

The advice and consent without which the acts of the Executive are nullities, is a power vested in an aggregate body ; the Executive power is lodged in a single individual. There would be no inequality, if President Madison, in imitation of his great predecessor President Washington, should meet and confer with the Senate ; nay, it would be no degradation of the Person or office of President Madison, should he, as President Washington did, receive and confer with a committee of the Senate concerning the exercise of a power in the discharge of which the consent of both President and Senate is required. Really there seems to be something not easily comprehended, which restrains Mr. Madison, when Genl. Washington, rightly estimating the substance and caring little for forms, found no impediments in his way, but in such cases freely conferred with the Senate.

Mr. Madison says the President and Senate are coordinate

powers ; so far as respects their relative dignity, there would seem to be no loss of it on the part of the President, should he consent to confer with the whole Senate—not so, should he consent to confer with a committee of the Senate : this is a distinction contrary to the nature of the transaction. When an aggregate body is a numerous one, in many, nay most of the preliminary enquiries that are made to enable the body to adopt definitive acts, they are made by committees. When it becomes necessary for any cause to confer with others bodies, whether aggregate or single, this is likewise done by Committees—and the principle of convenience, which suggests this mode in preference to the business being done by the whole body, has the sanction of common sense and universal usage. Committees of conference are appointed in matters of disagreement between the two Houses of Congress—these two houses are coordinate powers. But as the Executive is a single power and the Senate an aggregate one, unless the Executive will confer with a committee of the Senate, deputed for such purpose for the mutual convenience as well of the Executive as of the Senate, no conference can without great inconvenience ever be had. The increase of the Senate has already carried their number beyond the convenience of meeting in a small apartment. The suggestion that the Committee of the Senate may confer with the heads of Departments is wholly inadmissible and tends to degrade the Senate. The heads of Departments are no part of the Executive Power, the whole of which is vested in the President. Besides the heads of Departments are the mere will and pleasure officers of the Executive : with what propriety, nay with what consistency or decorum can it be proposed as a measure of equality, that the Senate should by a deputation from their body confer with an officer holding his place at the will of the Executive, and that the Executive should decline a conference with a portion of the Senatorial body itself appointed by the Senate for that purpose ?

The scruple is the more extraordinary as the President is said to allow and receive Committees, not appointed by either House of Congress, but by such members thereof as profess certain political opinions ; and these Committees, in their conferences with the President, are said to recommend important measures for his adoption, to propose the removal from office of men holding

high and important stations, and, what is yet more wonderful, those recommendations, as we are told, have been implicitly observed ! ! !

Does the President of the United States receive and follow the advice of Committees from turbulent and irregular bodies of men, aiming to dictate the course of his administration, and is the dignity and independence of the Executive office unsullied and unimpaired by such extraordinary and humiliating proceedings ? and when the Senate, the constitutional advisers of the President, depute a portion of their own body respectfully to confer with and ask information upon a subject submitted to the determination by the President, are they to be refused, and are the President's doors, opened to the public agitators, to be closed against Senators of the United States respectfully soliciting information to enable them to perform their public Duty ?

How would the Presidential office have been depreciated, had the President received the Committee deputed by the Senate to ascertain whether there were any other reasons in favor of the Mission to Sweden than the unsatisfactory ones exhibited in the letters of Speyer and Beasley? How would it have been degraded by his explaining to the Senate the motives for departing from the common usage in sending a Minister of the second order to Sweden, an inferior Power, in return for a Minister of the third order, sent by Sweden to the United States ? Who except the President, could afford this information, who, but he, could explain the unusual circumstance of the United States sending to Sweden a Minister of a higher rank than that of the Minister sent to them by Sweden ? Are the United States so inferior and Sweden so elevated that the diplomatic Tariff should as a matter of course be violated to our disadvantage and in her favor ?

The power of the President could not be controled by a conference between him and the Senate. He had made the nomination ; the act was already done and completed. What then must be the object of the Senate, in asking a conference ? It could not be to control or direct the power to nominate, because it had been executed ; for the rest the Senate could advise and consent without a conference. Is it an affront to the President that the Senate should ask of him information,* or is it required that they approve

* Different modes of seeking this information may be devised. It may be

as a matter of course? The object therefore must have been the acquisition of such information as would enable them to discharge their own duty intelligently and harmoniously: for attempting to pursue this course, they are misrepresented, censured and denounced in a Paper patronized and, as we are persuaded, controled by the Administration.

If there be in the country a body of men unpolluted and unsubdued by the unjust and destructive spirit which is breaking down the Constitution and destroying the nation, to that body of men, we appeal.

Between separate bodies, where joint concert is required to the validity of any act, whether it be in private or public affairs, a free communication, in which the reasons for and against a proposed act may be examined, in which objections may be communicated and information to remove them given; in a word, in which the reasons for and against the proposed measure may be freely communicated and weighed, seems to be essential. The less of form and ceremony that exists in these conferences, the more advantageous will they be to the attainment of a correct result.

If instead of this mode of communicating, examining and deciding the reasons of persons charged with the performance of a public duty, a formal proposition is made by one and a separate decision of it is made by another, it is to be feared that many good measures will fail; that jealousy, distrust and other mischievous passions may arise and operate between those who are charged with deciding upon such measures; and that with the best views, supposing each to preserve his independence, mistakes will be made injurious to the public interest. The very debates in a legislative body partake essentially of this character; confer-

asked for by a resolution of the Senate, transmitted by their Secretary, or any-other messenger—it may likewise be asked for by a Committee of the Senate appointed for this purpose—the latter mode is more respectful to the President, than the former. The Senate may possess information or entertain doubts which, if made known to the President, he might be able to correct; these may often be of a delicate, important and personal nature, which in every respect should be treated of verbally, in preference to a more formal and durable manner and of course by a Committee rather than by written communication. Everything respecting the character of persons nominated to office is of this nature.

ences concerning the Resolutions or Acts of the two Branches of such body, where their joint consent is required, are emphatically of this nature.

In cases of nomination to office by the Governor of one of the States made to his Council, the Governor and his Council being together, confer with each other reciprocally, giving and receiving information. The nominations to office and the advice and consent of the Senate are similar to, and the plan is derived from, that of the Governor and Council of the States. So true is this remark, that upon the putting of the Constitution into operation, it was settled between the first President, Genl. Washington, and a committee of the Senate authorized for this purpose, that the President, after nominating to office should come into the Senate room or convene them elsewhere, and then taking the seat of the President of the Senate, the several Nominations should be examined, objections offered, information received and the question of advice and consent finally taken in the presence of the Senate.

Those who affect to apprehend an improper influence or control upon the President, which, in this mode of proceeding, the Senate may be said to exercise, have not taken the trouble to consider the business in detail. The nomination is first made by the President: this act exclusively belongs to, and is definitely performed by the President without any interference of the Senate, who can neither annul, send back, nor do any other act concerning such nomination, except to give or refuse their consent to the appointment of the person so named by the President. This they may do without any communication with the President. But the real enquiry is whether they can without such communication, give or refuse their consent with as much satisfaction to themselves, and with as much benefit to the public, with as much justice to the individuals nominated, as if they had become acquainted with the President's information or knowledge of the qualifications of the person nominated?

It must be difficult to conjecture with any degree of confidence, much more so, to attain a correct knowledge of the motives of the President in sending to the Senate the very important message he has done upon this subject. We may and shall seriously regret the transmission of the message in case the views which have influenced the President upon this occasion have arisen from

the special or individual circumstances of a single case, instead of having been produced by a comprehensive and impartial consideration of the subject. We shall regret it, because it appears to claim for the President what we cannot but esteem as unconstitutional and useless dignity, because it separates him from the Senate, whose advice and consent are necessary to the validity of all appointments to office and to all Treaties between the United States and foreign nations; because it exposes him to the influences of persons in no manner responsible for their advice.

Governors of these States convene, meet and confer with their several councils. The King of England meets & presides and transacts business in his council. Every crowned head of Europe, not excepting the French Emperor, does the same. The United States, for the purpose of limiting the Executive power, have by their Constitution created an executive council—the Senate are that council—but Mr. Madison, their President, from a sense of executive dignity, or from other considerations which are not avowed, omits to come into the Senate and refuses to confer with their committees specially appointed respectfully to seek information from him upon a business that he has brought before them for a decision, and respecting which they ask what the President alone can impart!

Gallatin.

The second and probably the most unpardonable act of the Senate on account of which the National Intelligencer has been permitted to appeal to party feelings and to raise party animosity against the Senate, is the rejection of Mr. Gallatin as one of our Envoys in the mission to Russia.

There is so much of mystery, so great obscurity and so little light in all that concerns the Declaration of the war & the measures of the Executive subsequent to that unfortunate war, that it is with extreme difficulty that an impartial and inquisitive citizen, after making every allowance for human infirmity & the errors of our nature, is enabled to form an unhesitating opinion on these all important subjects.

We firmly believe that the assigned causes are not the real ones for declaring the war. We have strong reason to believe that the

Declaration of war, was against the deliberate judgment of men who voted for it. It is embarrassing to explain the motives why the overtures for Peace thro' Admi. Warren made immediately after the commencement of the war were rejected, and why the Mission to Russia was adopted, the basis thereof being the same as that offered to England by our Government in Oct. last.

It is probable that the Russian Minister during the winter and before he could have received any instructions upon the subject did suggest to our Government the idea of availing itself of the mediation of Russia to bring about a peace with England. It is not to be presumed that the Russian Minister committed himself by an offer of the Russian mediation—but rather that he insinuated to our Government the project of their asking the mediation of Russia.

It will be recollected that, at the period we refer to, no accounts had been received of the disasters that the French had met with in Russia—so far from it, all the accounts received of the retreat and defeat of the Russian army authorized the general opinion that Bonaparte would reach Moscow and that he would there dictate a peace to the Russians as he had before done to the Austrians at Vienna ; that our Government should have therefore declined, and as has been asserted in not very courtly language,* the overture of the Russian ambassador is not very extraordinary. But the intelligence received during the latter months of winter, and in the early part of spring, put a very different face upon the affairs both of France and Russia from what had been confidently anticipated.

When therefore in the month of February, despatches were received from Mr. Adams by our Government, and from the Russian Government, by Mr. Daschkoff, by which not only the total of ruinous failure of Bonaparte but a proposal on the part of Russia to become a mediator between the U. S. & England, became known at Washington—the value of this mediation was seen in quite a new light ; its importance was enhanced by the disgraceful failure of our Campaign against Canada, by the loss of the Michigan Territory and still more by the tacit rejection of

* Mr. Daschkoff says that the statements in the ministerial papers relative to his mediation for peace are an ill-treatment of the Emperor and himself, and that he would demand his passport.—*Evening Post*, March 22, 1813.

the overture made in October to England for peace. The only avowed cause for continuing the war was the subject of Impressment—by the overture made thro' Adml. Warren to England, Mr. Madison offered to exclude from our public and private ships all British subjects—and without claiming a previous armistice, offered in case England would accept such exclusion in lieu of the practice of Impressment, it was proposed to enter into an immediate negotiation in order to devise and settle the Regulations by which such exclusion should be effectually secured. Four months elapsed and no reply to this overture was received, and by the course of events in the North as well as in the South of Europe, it was naturally concluded that no satisfactory one would be received. What then was to be done? the safety of England, as she alleges, and as many believe, depends upon her Navy; the Navy depends upon her seamen & their service can be effectually secured only by Impressment. These Doctrines are undisputed in England—the Opposition as well as the friends of Government equally maintain their justice and importance—the Ministry of Mr. Fox, even well disposed, as they were to conciliation with America, declared that no administration dare to give up or to impair these maritime Rights. The expectation of coercion upon England by the conquest of Canada, by the expulsion of the English from the Peninsula, the subjugation of Russia, and the establishment everywhere of the French anti-commercial system had all failed; and instead of being a subdued, Russia now appeared a victorious nation, and as such possessed more influence than any other Power with England. The object in these circumstances is to get out of the war as soon and with as little loss of Reputation or of party influence as possible; to negotiate openly and directly with England, unless the relinquishment on her part of Impressment could be obtained, might materially injure the Party.

If it had become evident that England would neither relinquish, nor accept a substitute for, impressment, the point must be given up by us, or the war continued without expectation of being able to coerce her. The latter without hope and with heavy taxes would be destructive of the Party—the former, if managed with adroitness, might still preserve the dominion of Republicanism. The Russian mediation should therefore be ac-

cepted, and if England would not give up the practice of Impressment, Russia, the common friend, would urge the necessity of the U. S. receding from their claim & submitting to the just Rights of England. It might be said that the Government had acted for the best, they had relied upon the impartiality of Russia, who offered, and we accepted, her mediation—Russia having decided in favor of England, there was no choice left, we were bound to acquiesce in her decision. Thus Russia is to be made a cloak to conceal the blunders & disgrace of our Rulers. The men who succeeded in passing the Henry Plot upon the country, without the charge of temerity and without change of opinion concerning the discernment of the People, might confidently expect to justify their submission to Impressment by alleging the part which Russia, to whose mediation they had submitted, had taken.

It being determined to accept the Russian mediation, without waiting whether England would also accept it, without the place being agreed upon where the negotiations should be held, precautions which common prudence and the uniform example of other nations upon similar occasions required to have been observed, our Rulers cast about for the men to be employed on this occasion. It seems to have been expeditiously decided that the mission, according to former usage, should consist of three Envoys to be taken one from the Eastern, one from the Middle and one from the States upon the Western waters, the Southern States being duly noticed by the honor of Mr. Crawford's appointment to France. Mr. Adams & Bayard were soon selected, and while the choice of the Western man was undecided, the President becomes apprized that Mr. Gallatin would have no objection to be one of the Envoys. The failure of the Loan had inspired great alarm ; if with difficulty and at an enhanced rate of interest, the sixteen millions could be borrowed, enough had been learnt to create serious doubts whether another Loan could be effected upon any terms, unless preceded by serious effort to make peace. If Mr. Gallatin should be one of the Envoys, it would not only create the belief that Government were in earnest in seeking for peace, but moreover, that if Mr. Gallatin, a member of the Cabinet consented to serve, "it would be concluded that he, who knew the whole subject, had confidence in the success of the mission. These considerations would fill the Loan of 16. mil-

lions, and give a little breathing to the Government. In aid of this intrigue, it is reported that the Russian Minister did not fail to insinuate that the appointment of Mr. Gallatin, the Minister of Finance and the most influential member of the Cabinet, would not fail to be flattering to his master, the Emperor of Russia. Furthermore Mr. Gallatin* had a personal motive to be absent from the U. S. at this period. He had opposed the direct and whiskey Taxes under the former administrations. As Congress were now about to impose the same taxes again it would be expedient that he should not figure in the scene, but rather that he should appear not to have contributed to their imposition. The taxes being laid, Mr. Gallatin might return to superintend their collection, and aided by his experience and great talents, would be able to prescribe such regulations as might serve to reconcile the People to the taxes. Does any one doubt that views of this sort were examined in the confidential dialogues between Mr. G. and his friends upon this occasion ?

* Gallatin is ready to make his patrocinium ; he was opposed to commercial treaties and Mr. Jay's mission, but accepts a mission himself and is named to make two treaties of Commerce ! ! !

CHAPTER XVIII.

King to Gore—The Russian Offer of Mediation examined—Gore to King—Talk in Boston of aiding Commerce by a Peace or Armistice—King to Gore—Continuance of War will endanger the Union—Doubts relative to the Russian Mediation—Sir W. Scott to King—Regard for him—Though Condition of Europe more favorable, still Anxiety in England—It is United upon Questions between her and United States—And has grown in Wealth—Sidmouth to King—Time for his Son's Visit unfavorable for Settlement—King to Gore—Nothing heard of Mediation—His Son finds England's Opinion very hostile towards United States—King to Gore—Adams and Bayard to treat directly with England—Continental Affairs—Moreau's Death—Hamilton's Opinion of DeWitt Clinton—Lee to King—Baltimore Riot—English in West Indies do not applaud the War—Danger to the United States, should War cease on the Continent—Hopes for, and urges King to strive for Peace.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, L. I., Sunday, 29 Aug., 1813.

My dear Sir:

I am glad to hear that your people are not as extravagant and short sighted, as our friends were at Washington. If there be a class of men who more than others should support contracts and credit, it is the Federalists: exclusive therefore of consistency, which in a good cause is worth something, the Federalists should always co-operate in provisions to enable the Govt. to perform its contracts.

Respecting the Russian Mediation, I have no sort of doubt concerning two things: one is that Daschkoff did offer the good offices of the Emperor before he recd., and therefore without, instructions to do so,—and the other that he made a formal offer of this mediation, pursuant to instructions which he received after the 24th of Feby. I saw the note making this offer, which is

dated March 8, 1813, also the note accepting the mediation thus offered by the Emperor, which is dated March 11.

Adams recd. his Dispatches announcing the war in Octr.: he communicated their contents immediately to the Russian Minister, who (the knowledge of the war having been obtained before Mr. Adams recd. his Dispatches) had before expressed his regrets that the war had broken out; and explained the cause of these regrets to be the diversion of the Eng. Army in the Peninsula to Canada, and the consequent increase of the French forces bro't agt. Russia, the new embarrassment which the Russian Commerce would feel by the interruption of the American Trade, adding that having just then concluded a Treaty with England, by which it was hoped that the commerce of Russia would recover from its past stagnation, it was matter of disappointment that the American war would in a considerable degree renew the late embarrassment. At this early conversation, the Russian Minister intimated the idea of the good offices of the Emperor to restore Peace. After the official communication of the war (which was accompanied with these reservations, that it would be confined solely to England, that of course our commercial intercourse with Russia would be continued, and our friendly relations cherished, and that no overture had or would be made to France to co-operate with the U. S.) the Russian Minister requested Mr. A.'s consent to send a copy of this note to the Russian Ambassador in England in order that it might be communicated to the Eng. Government. Mr. A. replied that he could give no such consent—that Russia would make such use of the note as she pleased; but in case of its transmission to England, that he desired to be understood as neither having proposed nor consented to it. The Russian Minister soon after informed Mr. Adams that the Emperor was pleased to learn that the war with England could not lead to any new connexion between America and France; and then offered on the part of the Emperor his mediation and proposed that Adams should take immediate measures to transmit the offer to America—a conversation followed concerning the mode of doing it, and a licence from Lord Cathcart, the Eng. Ambassador, was suggested as a safe mode of sending a vessel to America. Adams consenting, the Russian Minister charged himself with an application to Lord Cathcart, who consented on condition the vessel

would touch in England. This Adams declined, and so the business of the vessel fell thro'. This report is made by A. to the Secretary of State, as the Secy. told me—he also told me that Adams' letters containing this information were received about the 24th or 26th of Feby., that Daschkoff at the same time rec'd instructions to make the offer of the mediation, and accordingly did so definitively on the 8 March.

Whether the observations accompanying Adams' communication of the war to Russia were made to induce her to offer her mediation, or in order to be sent to England, is matter of conjecture. Public Ministers occasionally interpose *their good offices*, and assist in conferences without the mediation of their masters being accepted or even offered ; this interposition, says DeReal, is not the function of a mediator, but of a Pacificator and so they are called when not acknowledged by all the Powers. Daschkoff may have thus interposed in the winter, and before the fate of the Russian Campaign was known. Mr. Madison believing that France would dictate a peace to Russia, would of course receive these pacific offers of Daschkoff coldly, perhaps uncivilly—but the affairs of France as well as of Russia wore a different face in March, when the destruction of the French army was ascertained —a renewal of the Russian good offices now, was not to be rejected. I confess myself at a loss to explain the President's conduct in sending his Envoys before he had ascertained that England would appoint ministers to meet them, and before the place of meeting, a point sometimes of importance, was chosen. This Step is the more unaccountable when we consider that the offer, made by Monroe thro' Adl. Warren in Oct. last, was to settle the subject of impressment by the exclusion of Br. subjects from our service ; which principle being accepted, nothing would remain for negotiation but the regulations for giving effect to the principle. To this overture it does not appear that Eng. has given any reply. The inference is, that she will, as she has offered to do, negotiate regulations for the practice of impressment ; but that she rejects our substitute. If the same proposition of a substitute were the only power given to the envoys, and, at the time of their departure, it had become pretty certain that England would not accept it, why were they sent ? If the President knew that England rejected our substitute and still sent the Envoys, may we not infer the in-

tention of making the decision of Russia in favor of England's claim, the excuse for our submission to it? How otherwise can we account for the mission? How explain the confidence with which the Executive has calculated upon & expected a Peace? How comprehend the fact that Gallatin consented to be employed? If such be the object of the mission, will not means be found out to apprize England of our views, and when she knows them, will she not send ministers, notwithstanding her former decision to the contrary, to accept our submission and give us Peace?

yrs R. K.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, 13th September, 1813.

My dear Sir:

Your letter confirmed my opinion on the subject of the Russian mediation,—Indeed some Letters received from Mr. Adams, by his Friends leave no doubt, but part of Colo. P.'s information was erroneous.

I have reason to believe, that a deep plan is laying by some gentlemen in N. Y., Albany & Boston to effect the election of Mr. C. to the next Presidency. The orthodox Church is enlisting Converts, and working with appropriate zeal. It is said, that Doctor Mason states, that Colo. Hamilton declared on his death bed, that DeW. Clinton was the only man to put down Democracy in the U. S.

Some men talk here of making a Declaration, next Winter, that the Union is dissolved and that Massachusetts is willing to be at peace with G. B., and that her ports shall be open to all Nations.—Others propose that the State should ask Permission of Congress to make an Armistice with the Enemy—what may arise from the Discontent and Distress that are daily augmenting it is impossible to tell.—Hanson & Grosvenor have been here. The former I hope is in better Health, than when he left Washington. He is a man of a fine and more correct mind than most of our zealous Federalists. I asked him if he did not intend to visit you at Long Island—he said he should be happy to, but as you had not asked him to come & see you, he doubted the Propriety of his going to your house.—He left Boston this Morning for Providence, & will probably be in New York as soon as this letter.—If you choose,

you can tell James to invite him to Jamaica. Grosvenor is going on to Washington immediately.

Your faithful Friend

C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Sep. 30, 1813.

DEAR SIR :

Every exertion will doubtless be made to carry the project to which you allude into effect. I find both from Mr. Hanson & Mr. Grosvenor that the continuance of the war will in their opinion endanger the Union. There can be no question that our situation will become extremely difficult, and indeed perilous, should England refuse to enter into a negotiation with the Envoys. The condition of the eastern States may drive them to measures, which neither the actual State of public affairs, temporary as it must be, nor their own permanent welfare will justify.

I perceive no reason which alters my views in respect to the probability that the Envoys are to make great efforts, and, if unavoidable, to yield up the only point of difficulty to obtain Peace. Upon this subject I have nothing new to add, except that if Col. Pickering be right in his supposition that Russia has not authorized the offer of her mediation, it is very extraordinary that no intimation has been made in the English Papers, of the delusion that has been practised upon the People of this Country, in the attempt to make them believe that such mediation had been offered. Those Papers, instead of denying that Russia had offered her mediation, assert that England will not submit the discussion of her Maritime Rights to any mediation ; thereby admitting that the overture may have been made. . . .

yrs. R. K.

SIR W. SCOTT TO R. KING.

Oct. 8, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR :

It is with great Pleasure that I seize the opportunity which my introduction of myself to your son gives me, of recalling to your recollection the name that is subscribed to this letter. It was long before I knew that your son was arrived in this Country. It was by accident only that I was informed of it. May I be per-

mitted, without giving offense, to complain a little of this ? If my son should come to your Country, you may depend upon it that he shall not come without some little private credentials to a person whom his father never recollects but with strong feelings of respect & regard, and about whose welfare he will ever continue a sincere solicitude.

The affairs of Europe had assumed their terrifick form before you quitted it. We have often talked of them together, and, if I remember right, with no great difference of opinion. They have gone on in a progress of publick disorder & misery every year since in a way that is equally known to both of us. The extreme alarms of the civilized parts of the World in this Hemisphere (at least of those Countries which had not entirely sunk under the shock) have been in some degree relieved by the events of the last Winter's Campaign in Russia ; but much remains yet to be both done and suffered, before we can consider the Liberties of Europe (and consequently of the world) as secured upon a firm & permanent footing. It is at this moment a matter of critical & perilous contest what is to be the result ; present appearances are favorable, but nothing decisive has yet taken place ; and my powers of language wd. fail me, if I were to attempt to describe the anxiety & hesitation with which depending events are at this hour contemplated in this Country.

To the unfortunate state of affairs that has taken place between our two Countries, it would be improper on my part to advert with any degree of particularity. But you will, I hope, think it not unbecoming nor perhaps quite useless to assure you, that upon the points in contest between us we are an undivided People ; that all political Parties of any consequence are agreed upon them ; and that we consider ourselves, without any difference of opinion (but such as is to be found amongst the enemies of all order & government) as a People that have not met with fair & generous treatment from those who have the conduct of your national interests. I will not enter further into this, than merely to say, that if any measures of America are taken upon the supposition of a partiality to American Politics existing among us, they will be taken upon a false & most erroneous view of facts, and can produce nothing but disappointment and defeat, so far as they are founded upon any such basis. We are most sincerely disposed to

reconciliation ; have no animosity, though strong resentments and lament most heartily to see the powers of a new & free State employed (as they appear to us) in riveting the chains of every Country in Europe & assisting the design of extinguishing the last remains of Publick Liberty, wherever found, on this side the Atlantick. We trust that such an unnatural state of things can't last long and are ready to meet you more than half way to put an end to it.

Your Son, I found in the short conversation I had with him, has been viewing different parts of this Country. I think that since you left us, it has been regularly increasing in wealth & prosperity, notwithstanding the pressure of war & the occasional interruptions they receive from temporary causes. He can tell you what met his observation in the course of his travels through it ; but as far as I can judge, the Country has reached a very high state of improvement in everything that can be considered as contributing to the strength and grandeur of a State ; and unless some unforeseen calamity should occur, is likely to advance in that condition under the direction of the same heads, to which it has been for some time entrusted.

After the many years that we have been separated, one feels an apprehension about making particular enquiries about the state of Families. But I hope that nothing unpleasant has occurred in yours, and that your own health has remained firm & unimpaired. My own I have no reason to complain of. I have ventured upon a second matrimonial connection, Lady Scott having been removed by death above 4 years ago. My only son is at Oxford with a fair promise of future character & conduct, and my daughter is married to a very amiable young gentleman, much to my own satisfaction. My time passes in the duties of my Office, in the business of Parliament & in the enjoyment of literary and domestick pleasures. I hear with great pleasure that your Country is likely again to receive the benefit of your talents in a more active capacity than you have chosen to assume for some time past. May both countries be benefitted, for they have a common interest in many respects.

I am, dear Sir, with unfeigned Regard
your faithful friend & Servt
W. Scott.

I write this in the Country, and send it up to your Son, who has promised to convey it. I fear he will have left this Country, before my return to Town.

Private.

LORD SIDMOUTH TO R. KING.

RICHMOND PARK, October 16, 1813.

DEAR SIR:

I was much gratified by your letter transmitted to me by Mr. Charles King, to whom it has been my Wish, and Endeavour, to show those Attentions, which are due to him, both on your Account and his own.

The immediate Object of his coming to England could not, unfortunately, be accomplished. The Impossibility of its attainment was regretted by all the Members of the Government whose attention was call'd to it.

I cannot forbear adding that your Son will leave in this Country the most favourable Impressions of himself. He will tell you that his Father is never mentioned here but with the Esteem and Respect which are due to his character. With these Sentiments, which I have long and invariably entertain'd, I have the Honor to be

Dear Sir, your most faithful Servant

SIDMOUTH.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Oct. 22, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I have nothing new concerning public affairs; whether England has taken any measures to sound, or confer with our Envoys is wholly unknown. Lord Walpole, who is, as I presume, a young man, is secretary to Lord Cathcart's embassy. Lord Cathcart is with the Emperor in Germany, or was so at the date of our last news. Perhaps Lord Walpole, in the absence of Lord Cathcart may be authorised informally to ascertain the extent of the powers of the Envoys, and to transmit the same to England.

This will gain time and enable the Ministry to determine whether they will accept & negotiate under Russian Mediation.

Charles was at Liverpool on the 29th Aug., looking for an opportunity to return home: owing to the obstruction which the English are said to meet with, in retiring from this Country, it seems that the Cartels from England will be either suspended, or confined to the transportation of prisoners of war—so that Charles was apprehensive that he should be obliged to go back to Lisbon, in order to find a passage home.

He seems to be disappointed in the state of the public opinion in England, which appears to be in a high degree and extensively hostile towards us. Mr. Jeffrey who lately arrived here (nephew of P. Jeffrey and a principal writer of the Edinburgh Review) confirms this opinion of the resentment agt. us, which prevails in England. He knew nothing of England's acceptance of the Russian Mediation; and had heard that Russia had not offered her Mediation in Eng.; in this however I am persuaded he is mistaken.

Perry's victory (to applaud which I was glad to see you took a part) has enabled Harrison to recover Detroit and invade upper Canada. The capture of Proctor's forces and the dispersion of the Indians, must put an end to the war in that quarter, for I presume that the Indians who depended upon the enemy for food, will now submit in order to be fed by us. The state of things upon Ontario and the movement of our Army, which I conjecture is going against Montreal, are critical—a short time will determine whether we winter in Canada, or return within the U. S.

R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Nov. 1, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR:

I this evening rec'd yrs. of the 27th ulto. . . .

In a letter that I rec'd from Mr. Sec'y Monroe, dated the 14 ulto., he says they had not received any letter from the Envoys, nor did they know what part England had taken respecting the Russian Mediation. I have, however, seen a letter from a person, who has lately been in Washington, and who there conferred with Monroe & Jones, which states that they informed the writer,

that instructions had been sent recalling Gallatin, and directing Adams & Bayard to treat directly (& without the Russian mediation) provided they had any reason to conclude that such negotiation wd. be desirable to England—whether they were instructed in this case to go to England the writer does not explain. How this direct negotiation can be authorized, I do not know ; since the appointment was limited to one under the Russian mediation. It may however be equally correct with anything that could be done upon the first commissioning of the Envoys without the consent of the Senate. The events of the war in Germany are of the deepest interest. The Allies, at our latest dates, were upon the whole gainers, and were I not always fearful that my hopes would be disappointed, I should anticipate according to the best estimate I can form of the strength of the Parties, and the actual posture of things at our latest dates, that Bonaparte will be forced to cross the Rhine and that the North of Germany, including Holland, & possibly more, will be delivered. But the death of Moreau,* whose life in any event, connected with, or arising out of, the downfall of Bonaparte would be more worth than that of any other man, seems to be a discouragement of hopes that the relative state of the armies would appear to authorize ; since by the removal of the ablest man in the council of his enemy, fortune prepares new success for Bonaparte.

Being in town to-day I saw Doct. Mason, and asked him if the Report circulated under his name and authority, of what Coll. Hamilton told him a little before his death, was true—He replied No, for he never had any conversation with Col. Hamilton on that or any other occasion, upon this subject ; but that he supposed the Report arose out of a communication of Mr. Mulligan (a lawyer of N. York) who told him that a Mr. Schermerhorn (a worthy sort of householder) told him, that when D. W. C. was a young man, Col. H. said he would become a great & influential public character ! . . . Farewell.

yrs., R. K.

* Moreau had been banished from France by Bonaparte, for having engaged in the conspiracy against him in 1804, and came to the United States, where he occupied himself in farming at Morrisville, Pa., until he was invited back by the Emperor Alexander of Russia to assist in a campaign against Bonaparte. He was shot in a battle near Dresden on August 27, 1813, and died a few days afterwards.

General H. Lee to R. King.

Barbadoes, Nov. 19, 1813.

My dear Sir:

Many years have passed since we had the pleasure of meeting, and now, when by your return to public life, that event was sure to occur, the extraordinary atrocity of the unpunished Baltimore mob,* has for a time exiled me from home in pursuit of restoration of my broken health. Bitter as are my reflexions on the past and personally uncomfortable as is the prospect before me whenever I experience the flood tide of health however little, as in my present weak state, I forget my own sorrows in those of our afflicted Country. Your return to the care of the common weal, I receive as an auspicious omen, and it enlightens the dark political horizon which envelopes our miserable country.

What really heightens the horror of the scene is that a major portion of both Nations, now cutting each other's throats, abhor the war and sigh for its conclusion. I often see here the land and sea officers of G. B., and daily meet with English gentlemen, as well as those of this Island, and I rarely pass a week without spending hours with the Governor, Sir George Beckwith, and what is surpassing strange, I have never met with but a single individual, who applauds the war.

* The Baltimore Whig newspaper edited by Alexander Hanson, after the declaration of the war, announced that it would continue to speak with the same freedom as before, relative to the war. Two days after a "mob, headed by a French apothecary, unopposed by the city magistrates, . . . completely demolished the office of that paper with its types and presses," causing the associate editor to fly for his life. The paper was re-established at Georgetown, but soon afterwards it was re-issued from a new office in Baltimore, the editor & his friends being determined "to vindicate the liberty of the press . . . no matter at what personal risks to themselves." The Mayor refused to protect them; but under a plan of defense, drawn up by Gen. Henry Lee, "of which he volunteered to superintend the execution," the mob again attacked the house, which was bravely defended, until the authorities interfered and the defenders surrendered themselves under a promise of protection and were taken to prison. The mob pursued them there, the prison was opened to the mob, and they proceeded to wreak vengeance upon the prisoners. Owing to the darkness, though very severely maltreated, all except Genl. Lingan escaped death. General Lee, however, was made a cripple for life, and, as he says, was obliged to seek for health away from home. For a full account of this transaction see Hildreth, *U. S.*, vi., pp. 325–332.

The same contrast is to be found in many parts of America, as I am told, tho' not to the same extent. Certainly then it is time to know what we are about, and when we shall be extricated from the fatal labyrinth into which we have been winded: what enhances the affliction which the true hearted American feels is that, without discussing the justice or wisdom of the war on our part, it must be admitted that its end never can be effected, was the success of our arms as complete, as it has been defective. We only can assail G. B. on her American territorys and were we to master them all to-morrow, still would peace be remote, if procurable only by the enemy's ceding the maritime principle for which we are fighting. This fact cannot be doubted, and of itself is enough to induce us to sheathe our swords. However we have heretofore failed in our projected conquest of Canada, I have not a doubt but that it will be accomplished with the exception of Quebec, because the defenders of Canada are 3000 miles distant and committed in the most awful & wide spreading contest for the safety of Europe, of the independence of most of its nations, in short for the maintenance of all those rights dear to civilized man. Should however the battle in Europe cease, G. Britain and her allys would soon turn the tide of conquest in America, was it progressing with the rapidity so arrogantly predicted. Spain would be indubitably introduced in the South, the Floridas & Louisiana become the theatre of combat, of all points belonging to the U. S. the one wherein we are most vulnerable.

This view of our condition ought to press peace on our Rulers, for by continuance of war, it may become vastly extended and with its extent in the direction suggested would become multifarious & formidable in the extreme.

We have not yet heard here from Europe since those active operations which opened the campaign after cessation of the armistice & in the leading member of which the good, the virtuous the consummate soldier Moreau fell. The advantage was evidently on the part of the Allys & should Bonaparte obstinately hold his position, he will be cut off from the Rhine, if the Allys maintain their evident superiority in the field of battle. However this may be, let us not wait but in the course of the winter let peace be restored. Even should Wilkinson prove himself to be the reverse of Dearborn, which I fondly (from my intimate knowl-

edge of the first) hope & believe, still he will have difficulties to encounter great and obstinate.

And the nation must be everywhere defended, as well as Canada conquered. Look at our extent, see our thin population in the West & in the South. Hordes of inveterate warriors hover around the first, and hostile fleets occasionally accompanied with bodys of regular troops sound every inlet of the last. God of heaven, infuse love of peace into our rulers and save our land from the tragic scenes which must follow, with increased fury and extent, continuance of the war.

Always admiring and loving Mr. Madison, and full of good will & regard to Mr. Monroe, I have two or three times written to the latter gentleman and once to the former since my residence under this tropic. I again now write to them both and have frankly expressed my heart to their view on the subject of peace. Governor Beckwith whom I dare say you remember in America, is like myself ardently anxious for stop of war, & as we often converse and sometimes write on the subject, I have enclosed to Mr. Monroe a copy of his last letter to me in reply to one accompanying a project of a treaty.

I wish to God, if, as I presume, you & Mr. Monroe are much together, that you would confer with him on the form of a treaty acceptable to our Government. If it is a right thing and you will send it to me I do believe that Govr. Beckwith will actively and honorably assist it to consummation. Do as you will, I must beg you to accept my best respects, to present the same to Mrs. King, accompanied with my best wishes for the health and happiness of you and every member of your family.

Mr. Storm, Son of Mr. Thomas Storm of New York, politically adverse to you, as I hear, but personally full of respect to, & confidence in you, tells me that two of your sons are married to two daughters of Virginia.* I believe the ladys were born in Petersburg, Virga. Thus you see how we tye the Union, against whose sacred ark the door of Janus is impiously open. Shut it, do shut it.

This Mr. Storm is Commissary of Prisoners here ; we live under the same roof. He is honest, candid, decided & warm ; fortunately has become attached as yet to no political opinion &

* See end of this chapter.—Ed.

will, therefore I think, be sure to take the right side. . . . Adieu my dear Sir, yr. faithful friend H. Lee.

. . . The packet arrived yesterday. By her we learn that Holland is in arms, Bayonne taken by Wellington & Bordeaux also with 120 of our vessels. Oh ! my friend push peace, it may now be effected, but the hour is fast passing. I go tomorrow, or this, to Porto Rico on my approach home in the Spring. I am much better than when I last wrote. God bless you.

H. Lee.

Letter endorsed by R. K.—"Rec'd Mar. 2, 1814.—Original rec'd three weeks earlier.

"N. B. Sent the orig. to Mr. Hanson for his perusal."

The "two daughters of Virginia" were the daughters of Archibald Gracie, a Scotchman, who married while in New York Miss Esther Rogers of Connecticut. After his marriage he removed to Petersburg, Va., and was there engaged in business with a Mr. Walker. His three eldest children were born there, William, Eliza, who was married in 1810 to Charles King, and Sarah, who was married in 1812 to James Gore King, both sons of Rufus King. Mr. Gracie had removed from Petersburg to New York several years before these marriages took place.

CHAPTER XIX.

King to Morris—Matters that may be considered by Congress—Asks his Opinion relative to Retaliation for Condemnation and Execution of British Subjects taken in Arms against England—Morris to King—President's Remedies will not prevent illegal Importations—England and the People of the U. S. will get what they want—Increase of Manufactures will interfere with Recruiting—Cannot shorten the War by making the Enemy feel its Pressure—Retaliation wrong—No Nation has a Right to interfere with the interior Police of another—Conscription will fail in Results—King to Morris—The President prepared to receive the Law from England—If Peace made, Effect of its Terms on the divided Democracy—Morris to King—The President's Views relative to the State of France erroneous—Russia not so powerful as he thinks—Would not sanction Expatriation—President's Acceptance of English Proposition—Division in the Cabinet—Government's Defense—C. King to King—England favorable to Peace, but not giving up her Maritime Rights—Morris to King—Gives Reason why a Minority should not move Resolutions asking for Information—Morris to King—Opinion on England's probable Conduct—Agrees as to Character of our Rulers.

R. King to G. Morris.

Washington, Dec. 19, 1813.

Dear Sir :

As there is nothing in the President's message at the opening of Congress, nor in the information that I have received since my arrival here, which encourages an expectation that the Mission to St. Petersburgh will produce peace, we may conclude that our session will be consumed in giving authority to the Plan of the next campaign. What this plan will be, we are not informed ; indeed as the Secretary at war has not returned, it is probable that the Plan is not yet fully prepared. Among the parts, I think, I shall not be mistaken in enumerating Embargo for a year, the non-importation from any Country of articles, which heretofore have been commonly or chiefly derived from the Territories of

G. Br., a revision of the Militia Laws, and such a modification of them, as will enable the Pr. to raise by Draft or otherwise fifty or sixty thousand men. The obstruction of all navigation and commerce will facilitate, as we hear, the raising of loans, which may be obtained, as is said, to any amount.

With sixty thousand men all Canada may be conquered, says Genl. Armstrong (who would be named Lieutenant Genl., if he could), in a single campaign,—altho' the expense will be very great, it will be the best policy, as well as the greatest economy. Canada and the Floridas are becoming the principal objects of the war—no peace is to be made, say the people of the western waters, unless Canada and the Floridas, especially Canada, be added to the Union.

Congress will be urged to support the President in what he calls a Retaliation, should G. Br. try and execute any of her subjects taken levying war against her in Canada. Whether a further law upon this subject will be passed, I know not : but if it be desired by the President, such is the subserviency of Congress that I really apprehend it will refuse nothing.

Waiving all questions about perpetual allegiance, and what is called the natural right of Emigration, does there exist an instance in which the trial, condemnation & execution of a person according to the course of the established Laws of any Country, has been ever considered to be a cause of Retaliation by another Country ? such Retaliation instead of being according to the Laws of Nations, would be subversive of them, and an attack upon the independence of nations. Be good enough to consider, and to impart to me your views upon this very important subject. As a stand must be made, it is desirable that it should be forcibly made and with such evidences of the error which is opposed as may be likely to correct it.

With sentiments of Respect &
Sincere Regard I am, dear Sir, yr. faithful servt.
RUFUS KING.

G. MORRIS TO R. KING.

MORRISANIA, Dec. 27, 1813.

DEAR SIR :

Your favor of the 19th reached me on Friday. As Christmas and Sunday followed immediately I could not, untill this morning,

attempt to reply, and have now to thank you for that also of the 21st.

To begin with this last, I believe the President to be correct in his notion that an export of our Prôduce furnishes the Enemy with such part of it, *as he wants*, and that the admission of vessels under neutral flags, tends to the introduction of British goods on British or American acct. I admit also that illegal importations are made ; and even venture to say they will continue to be made in spite of all you can do. That I do not believe the President's remedies will cure the evils he complains of ; neither is it clear that the case is desirable ; for in the body politic, as in the natural body, it sometimes happens that removing slight diseases occasions others which are mortal.

He thinks it hard that British Cruizers should get our victuals for their money, but he should consider that in this case, we get their money for our victuals. Suppose they should lay some of your exposed Towns under contribution and oblige you to give the food you refuse to sell ; or suppose the British Government should send a few shiploads of Liverpool Salt to some convenient place in the Chesapeake, and give ten bushels of it, which would cost them less than twenty-five cents a bushel, for a barrel of flour, now selling, I understand, in Virginia for less than a bushel of salt. Their Fleet would thus be supplied with flour at less than three farthings, Stg., a pound, while the planters would pay twenty prices for their salt. Smugglers would, in this traffic, gain nine barrels of flour on each interchange.

I have said that the Enemy is furnished with such part of our produce *as he wants*. But the convincing proof that he don't want our provision either for his Fleets and Armies or those of his Allies is the rigorous Blockade of States which produce provision : for surely the Enemy must know his own wants.

I admit for argument's sake, that you can cut off a commerce in British goods on American acct. ; but if your people want those goods, they will buy them, paying always to the British manufacturer *his price ;* and to all concerned, as intermediaries, for their labor, skill & risque an exorbitant premium. Now as your Fisc will not, I suppose, be concerned in the contraband trade, it cannot share in the booty. Your citizens, therefore will be fleeced, while your Treasury is defrauded of the Duties ; your

Enemy smiling at your efforts to wash the Blackamoor white, to fill a sieve with water and other such notable projects.

As to the notion that you can supply your wants by domestic manufacturers, tho' true in a degree, it is false in the extent. But in the attempt you set so many at work to bid against you, that you will be unable to recruit your Armies. Moreover when this mad frolic is over, you must say farewell revenue from trade, or you must, by lowering the duties, hear the groans and curses of those, who now embark in manufacturing projects, so that you disarm yourselves in the midst of a war, in order that you may ruin your planters now, and your mechanics by and bye.

If the subject were not serious, and it is most fully so, one could not help laughing outright at the idea of shortening the duration of this war by making the enemy feel its pressure. It is as if a man on the bed of Procrustes should console himself at the sight of a Louse on the Tyrant's cloak. It is, no doubt, unpleasant to be teazed by those little crawling creatures, but he who would submit his members to the rack, for the pleasure of seeing his enemy bitten by a louse, must, I should suppose, have rather more nerve than intellect.

Our Rulers seem to suppose not only that Great Britain is extremely feeble, but that her pity exceeds her imbecility. They would see, and seeing, they would believe in her strength, if they were not struck with judicial blindness : afflicted with that " Esprit de vertige et d'erreur de la chûte des rois funeste avant-coureur." One of your Roman friends told you long ago " quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat ; " and Moses said nearly the same thing of Pharaoh before Romulus was born. The British Administration had not hitherto dared to do the mischief in their power, fearing the opposition would appeal to the good nature of Englishmen. Is it to relieve them from such apprehensions that we are about to hang British Officers in Retaliation for Traitors executed under the British Laws ? It seems to me, my dear Sir, that argument on this occasion would be a waste of thought, of time and breath. It is unquestionably a point of universal Law, established from the earliest ages, that every nation has an indefeasable right over its own natural born Citizens. If the President's statement of what he insinuates to be facts on this Subject, were true, it would prove nothing. Even if England had attempted to defend French Citi-

zens in her Services against the French Government, and to that end had executed (*which she did not*), Prisoners of war in retaliation for Frenchmen landed at Quiberon in 1795, who being taken were immediately executed, tho' it might be considered a case in point, still it could not justify us in violating public Law. Unless perhaps, by the rogue's reason, that there is no harm in stealing from a thief. The thing is ridiculous as well as atrocious. But you may remember we long since agreed that this horrible issue would follow, of necessary consequence, from a war to protect British subjects in neutral merchant ships against the authority of their Sovereign.

It would be almost an insult, should I, even at your own request, take up the argument on so plain a subject. With respect to one ground, however, which you hint at, I cannot coincide. Unquestionably those who defended the plunderings of Napoleon as being right because merely the operation of his Municipal Laws occasionally framed in violation of Treaties for the very purpose of plundering, cannot consistently pretend that we should take umbrage at the Prince Regent for the execution of Municipal Laws established in his Country so many centuries ago. But these gentlemen do not, I believe, regard consistency. I am not one of those who think a Nation has no right to interfere with the interior police of others; but on the contrary, hold that when a Nation is wronged, no matter in what way, she may lawfully seek redress from the wrong-doer. I go further, and pretend that if my neighbour Nation adopts such internal regulations, the conscription for instance, as will, when ripened into effect, endanger my safety, I may, of full right, make war and take from him a part of his Territory so as to lessen the mass of his force, unless he will abandon the measures, which render that mass injurious to my peace and dangerous to my existence. I always thought the British Ministry conceded more to their parliamentary opponents on this delicate point than consisted with sound sense. But let us leave them to manage their own arguments as they like, and look at the condition to which our unhappy country is about to be reduced.

I cannot help believing the projects proposed are more levelled at New England than at Old England. Such they will, at any rate, appear to our Eastern friends. Your conscription will fill

the measure of grievances even to overflowing. The system taken together appears to me more absurd, if possible, in the whole than extravagant in its several parts. By the Embargo you take away the means not only of paying taxes, but of purchasing necessaries. By the retaliating scheme every American, who shall accept of a commission, or enlist as a soldier in the regular army, or turn out as a militia man must put a halter about his neck with which, when taken prisoner, he may be hanged. By your conscription project you are to order men with arms in their hands, while you have only a bit of paper in yours, to quit their families and engage in the splendid scheme of conquering Canada under such appalling circumstances. Before the first day of March, you will, in all probability, have no Northern Army left. Your army of the South will be as God and Great Britain please ; and if you raise another Army of the West, you must seek for a mountain of silver instead of salt to pay the expenses. Considering the wretched state to which we must be reduced by travelling on in our present path might it not be proper instead of combating the pretexts which will be advanced in the lack of arguments, seriously to declare the conviction that these northern States will not prosecute a war of extermination ; and that if, in consequence of a violation on our part of the usage of civilized nations, Great Britain should execute the threat of devastation *against that part of the Country whose Representatives uphold such barbarous measures*, far from attempting to avenge they should applaud a conduct tending to recall our Rulers to the practice of humanity.

Believe me, my dear Sir, it is in vain to mince matters. If it be possible to preserve the Union, which I doubt, it can only be by checking outrages which are no longer to be borne. True it is that the Administration have adherents among us who will stick to them as long as personal considerations will permit ; and among these are some fighting friends. It is possible, therefore, that Mr. Madison may blow up civil broil into civil war. But the result must be ruin to his tools here, and awful vengeance on his supporters elsewhere.

Adieu, I am always truly yours

GOUV. MORRIS.

R. KING TO HON. MR. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, January 9, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

To Admiral Warren's proposal of an armistice in 1812, Mr. Monroe replied, that notwithstanding the Repeal of the orders in Council, the subject of impressment remained unadjusted, and that no Peace between the U. S. could be durable, without a settlement of the interfering claims of the two Countries upon this head: with the view therefore to such settlement, the Admiral was informed by Mr. Monroe that the President was willing to enter into stipulations, the observance of which should be enforced by Laws to be passed for that purpose, for the exclusion of all British Seamen from the Maritime, including the merchant, service of the U. S. We have never heard of any answer to this offer: if any has been received, it has been unsatisfactory, or we should have heard of it.

By the Mail of yesterday I sent to you the Papers accompanying the late Message of the President, announcing the failure of the Mission to Russia and his acceptance of the offer to negotiate at Gottenburgh; if you connect with these Documents the Regent's late speech, the whole subject as far as we understand is before you. In the Regent's Speech, which was delivered in November, he says: "I have not hitherto seen any disposition on the part of the Government of the U. S. to close it (the war) of which I could avail myself consistently with a due attention to the interests of his Majesty's subjects."

This declaration of the Regent must refer to, and reject, the project offered by the U. S. to Admiral Warren, equally with that of the Russian Mediation; neither manifesting in the Regent's opinion, a disposition to close the war, of which he could avail himself consistently with the interests to which he alludes.

Placing the pretensions of our Government on one side, the Letters of Lords Castlereagh & Cathcart, together with the Regent's Speech on the other, and adding Mr. Monroe's letter accepting the offer of a direct negotiation at Gottenburgh, it will scarcely be doubted that the President is prepared to receive the Law from England. There is however another view of the subject; a negotiation will help to fill the Loan, and to recruit the Army; it will also afford time to ascertain the extent and effects of Bona-

parte's Defeat; and as weak men prefer a postponement to the decision of an important Question, this course may be considered as a wise one in the present occasion.

The leading persons in Congress have probably been consulted; in the Cabinet it is said that Armstrong's voice was for war, Monroe & Jones for negotiation.

If Peace be made, securing not one thing claimed, and abandoning some interests of which we were in possession, the various branches into which the democracy is now divided, will probably unite in throwing the blame of failure upon the weakness & incapacity of Madison and his Ministers, and upon the opposition of the Federalists, who, it will be said, paralyzed the measures of the Government.

With great esteem & Regard, I am &c.

RUFUS KING.

G. MORRIS TO R. KING.

MORRISANIA, Jan. 17, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

While I thank you for your favors of the fourth and ninth, I must entreat your Pardon for delaying an Answer so long. When the first arrived I was preparing to meet our Board of Commrs. in Town, where I continued several Days, so that the other lay till the 15th in our Post Office.

I believe the President to be mistaken in his notion that Bonaparte will be pestered by Insurrections. Neither Frenchmen nor any other men are prone to rise against so severe and so crafty a Chief as Napoleon. Moreover that Nation, which consists now chiefly of old Men, Women and Children, is disarmed. Admitting, however, that Insurrections should happen, I see no serious Results. The Dethronement of his Imperial Majesty is not desired by the Powers at War with him, for most of them have a direct Interest in his Establishment. England cannot wish to see again a Connection of Blood between the Sovereigns of France, Spain, Portugal and great Part of Italy. Austria can have no Desire to turn her Daughter out of Doors; and still less to aggrandize a Family which held in Check her Greatness ever since modern Europe was civilized. The German States, Prussia

included, while they cling for Support against Austrian Claims and Pretensions, to the Power of France, would see with an evil eye that Power so great that she could again dictate to them as Subjects rather than persuade them as Allies and pay them as Subsidiaries. To Russia it is a matter of Indifference who sits on the French throne, provided there be, in that quarter, a Mass sufficient to keep Austria in Check and preserve the Anarchy of Germany; a Condition which leaves the South of Europe open to the Action of her Policy and the Weight of her Arms.

I think the President is also mistaken in supposing that Russia is the greatest Power in Europe, and especially that she will exercise her Greatness in our Favor. Russia, acting on the defensive, is indeed a prodigious Power. Her Back to the Arctic Circle, her left covered by the Tartarian Desert, her right by the Gulph of Finland and the Baltic Sea, her Front from the Carpathian Mountains to the Black Sea, by the barbarous Regions of Moldavia, Wallachia and the Country of the Cossacks, she is assailable only on the Side of Prussia and Poland. Even there she is covered, in a great Measure by the vast Morasses of an unsettled Domain and has in her Favor those Circumstances of Space and Time which neither Lovers nor Princes can annihilate for the Gratification of their Wishes. But these very Circumstances, and that other little Circumstance called Finance, which will, I apprehend, begin now to cramp the Energy of our aspiring President, must for a long Time to come render the offensive operations of Russia less dangerous to her Neighbors than, from the Mass of her Force, might otherwise be apprehended.

But admitting the Russian Greatness to be whatever Mr. Madison may choose to represent it, and admitting also, what I do not doubt, that the Emperor, with all his Justice and Generosity and Love for his English Ally, would see with Pleasure a Shackle put on the British Maritime Power; I, nevertheless, cannot persuade myself that he would sanction a Doctrine so inconsistent with Reason, and so abhorrent to the Feelings of every Sovereign as Mr. Madison's notion about Expatriation.

The Acceptance of Lord Castlereagh's Proffer is unquestionably an abandonment of the Ground on which this hopeful War is waged and should the American Negotiators attempt to reoccupy it, they will, I presume, be requested to look at their

Instructions, and be told it is incredible that the Presidt. should renew a Claim directly opposed to the Terms on which he had agreed to treat. But if, indeed, he entertains such an Idea, it is proper again to assure him, thro' them, that Great Britain cannot listen to Propositions *inconsistent with the Maxims of public Law and her Maritime Rights.*

From Mr. Monroe's Epistle, it is manifest that our Administration have reluctantly accepted his Lordship's offer. They have reserved as much Ground for future Cavil as they conveniently could. They refer to the Desire they have *already manifested* and express the *same Willingness* to terminate the Contest on Conditions of perfect Reciprocity *consistent with the Rights of both Parties*, and calculated to provide against *future Collisions*. And their Negotiators will be instructed to set off their qualified acceptance against the Explicitness of Lord Castlereagh's Proposn.

Before I received the Information contained in your letter, I conjectured a Division in the Cabinet from the Stile of Monroe's uncourteous Letter. That Mr. Armstrong should urge the Continuance of a War, in which his Plans have proved so lamentably deficient, is strange, and only to be accounted for by the good opinion he entertains of his own Powers, and by that "vaulting Ambition which overleaps itself." His Scheme of a Lieutenant Generalship will probably bring forth that Dignity for *Massa Billy Harrison*, as the Blacks in his native Country used to call him. But Mr. Armstrong, were he skilled in Chaldean Dialect, would understand the *Mene tekel* written on the Walls of the War Office. He must, I think, go down maugre his Intrigues with Western Men, the Intrepidity of our Governor, the Sagacity of our Lieutenant Governor and the Fidelity of his Friend Ambrose.

In the Debate on our President's humane plan of Retaliation, an opportunity will present itself for testing the Sincerity of his Conduct in accepting Lord Castlereagh's Offer. The Division of the Party, on that subject, may then, I should suppose, be brought into broad Day, by taunting them and tormenting them for giving up their Ground to obtain an inglorious Peace, while they maintain it to shed innocent Blood. Perhaps, to avoid such shocking Inconsistency, they may be driven to declare that the Point on which the War turns is not to be given up. This will defeat the Project of filling their Coffers and their Ranks by the

delusive appearance of Peace. I say delusive, for altho I acknowledge that in fair Construction, Mr. Madison's acceptance of the British offer is so compleat an abandonment of his claim that no man who feels as he ought, would afterwards renew it, yet I am convinced that our rulers, as they were not prevented by Motives of Humanity from shedding the Blood of their fellow-citizens in Support of that unfounded Claim, so they will not be deterred by a Sense of Shame from declaring (should circumstances render it convenient) that in acceding to the proposed Negotiation for Peace they never meant to go beyond the Terms contained in their Reply to Admiral Warren's Proposition.

My wife joins with respectful compliments to Mrs. King.

yours, GOUV. MORRIS.

CHARLES KING TO R. KING.

Thursday, Jany. 20, 1814.

DEAR SIR :

You will, I imagine, have learnt from the letters I sent you, that there exists every disposition in England to make an equal & honorable peace with us. It was declared to me from the moment I reached London, that they never would consent to mingle the questions of maritime right between themselves & us with the politics of Europe : they had taken a ground which they never could nor would abandon, while they were blessed with the means of maintaining it, & least of all would they permit Russia to interfere in its decision.

The Law passed by us last session concerning seamen, they did not allow us much credit for, believing it out of the power of the Government to cause its strict execution ; tho' I do think the British ministry would suspend the practice of impressment in order to give us a fair trial of it. As to the men now in our service, of British origin, they possess a willingness to enter into any arrangement that can be made, by which without renouncing on their part the right to reclaim their men, our claim to them as naturalized citizens may be respected ; in short they say " Keep out of our way & we will not go to look for them."

Upon the whole, I feel quite satisfied that if we are sincerely disposed to make a peace, the present moment is as favorable for

it, as any other, notwithstanding England's triumphant situation. Their magnanimity has kept pace with their success. If we are not disposed to close the temple of Janus, England will make no effort to do so. The liberation of Germany, indeed of Europe, has opened a market for her manufactures & colonial produce, which is insatiable in proportion to the time it has been without supplies, & leaves no regret & barely the recollection, of the American war. If therefore the gentlemen to be sent to Gottenburgh, go there with the least expectation that England will recede one tittle from the ground she has taken, or consent to modify in any way the *right* of search & impressment, they will assuredly go on a fruitless errand. Reciprocity, as the Regent says, in his speech, is all we offer or ask. "Damus patimurque vicissim" was the conclusion of every conversation I held with the gentlemen of the administration on this subject,—and the nation re-echoes the sentiments. I wish and hope we may meet them in it.

I am, dear Sir, Yours &c CHAS. KING.

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, Jany. 26, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

I received in due course your letter of the 17th, and agree in your opinions respecting France. Our Administration change their views from month to month, shifting their measures according to the vicissitudes of public occurrences, the causes and consequences of which they seem equally incapable of justly appreciating.

If one could believe the Declarations of an intention to adhere to what is called our Rights, in opposition to the Maritime Claims of G. Br. we might without hesitation predict the failure of the proposed negotiation at Gottenburgh. But I conjecture that the intention is to obtain if possible from G. Br. some stipulation, which, while it shall not impair their Rights, may serve to give something to us, that may be used as an apology for the war. I send you enclosed an extract of a letter that I received by my son Charles from Sir William Scott. You know his character, and public station—it is hardly therefore necessary to remark, that in the mode public affairs are managed in England, no ques-

tion effecting the maritime Rights of Nation is decided without his Opinion.*

From the tone of this Extract, I should derive little hope, that the project of excluding *by our Laws* British seamen from our service will be accepted as a means of obtaining what the exercise of the Practice of Impressment has been deemed necessary to secure. If this project offered in 1812 was not accepted, what reason have we to believe that it will now be agreed to? . . .

With entire Respect & Esteem, &c., RUFUS KING.

G. MORRIS TO R. KING.

MORRISANIA, Jan'y 27, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

I am to thank you for the Documents in your late Envelope. It seems to me that our Friends in pursuing a parliamentary Course, do not allow for the Difference between British and American opposition and Administration. Without going after the causes of such difference, which may easily be discovered, it is sufficient to notice Facts. In Britain, it is understood that the Administration are so strictly bound by Honor and Truth, that perfect Reliance may be placed on what they say; whereas the opposition are not to be restrained by Principles of any Sort from making every Sort of Assertion, nor by Regard to Consistency or Decency from Motions for any kind of Information. When they can shew probable cause to apprehend that Ministers have been playing a foul Game, they can easily carry their Point, because among the Ministerialists are always to be found a number of high minded men who scorn to aid in concealing mean or dirty business. Moreover Motions for Information there, if carried, are sure to bring out the Truth, because the Administration, should they be detected in Falsehood or Prevarication, are lost.

Were Federalists in Power, this Country would resemble that, but as Matters now stand, the Case is reversed. If a Charge of Inconsistency, much less of Duplicity, can be established it will injure, if not ruin, our opposition, while the Administration, like

* Extract of a Letter dated London Oct. 8, 1813, to ———

Private. "To the unfortunate state of affairs that has taken place between our two countries &c., &c., see further p. 306 of this Volume."

their Model Napoleon, not only practice but glory in Deceit. In moving a Resolution to obtain Information, you are certain that it will pass or be rejected according to the Nature of the Information ; which will be granted if it can do you mischief, but if good, withheld. It seems to me therefore that in making these Motions you place yourself in a Condition which permits your Adversaries to play old John Carpenter's Game of tossing up——Heads I win, Tails you lose. Would it not be safer to entrench yourself in Doubt and claim a Right to deny, on the Ground of Doubt, every Fact not established. This might force out as much Information as you can obtain in any other way ; perhaps more.

I am as ever yours

GOUV. MORRIS.

G. MORRIS TO R. KING.

MORRISANIA, Jan. 31, 1814.

DEAR SIR :

I receive this moment your Favor of the twenty sixth, for which I pray you to accept my thanks. It confirms my opinion respecting the Conduct which Britain will pursue. I have said on that Subject, more than a year ago, that if her Ministers act otherwise, they deserve to be hanged here and damned hereafter. I will now tell you that I considered the Flag with Lord Castlereagh's Letter as full Proof of what your Letter contains. It speaks the Language of the Lord of the Ocean "So far shalt thou go and no farther."

Your Sentiments of our Rulers are just. I ask a serious Question, what Chance is there of better Rulers if the Union be preserved ? When you have turned that well over in your mind consider this other, what Chance is there that better Rulers could do better and not forfeit the Support of the many headed monsters whose barking annoys us from the Head of Kennebeck to the Mouth of Mississippi ?

As ever yours

GOUV. MORRIS.

CHAPTER XX.

King—Memorandum relative to Armstrong—Armstong on Terms of Peace—Jefferson's Views as to the Power of Virginia—King, Examination of Plan of Finance relative to the twenty-five million Loan—Debate in the Senate—King's Objection—Absence of a special funding Provision to pay Interest and Principal.

Jany. 1814.—Col. Swift on the part of Gen. Armstrong held repeated conversations with Mr. Mason, N. H., the real object of these interviews had reference to the next Presidency. Their tenor was that the Virginia Dynasty must be broken ; that State must not furnish the next President. The policy has been to divide the Eastern States, to exclude from every pubc. office of distinction Eastern men. There was no doubt of the influence of France upon Jefferson and Madison. Any man acting an independent part as Minr at Paris would be cut down. Jefferson sent Col. Coles, his sec.y, to France while he, Armstrong, was Minister there. Coles was charged with and delivered despatches to the French office of For. Affrs. from Jefferson, in which, the extracts of Armstrong's letter to the Dep. of State, which expressed disadvantageous opinions respecting the French Govt., or communicated information of an unfavorable nature concerning the admn. of France, were sent to the French office of for. Affrs.

Col. Coles was the bearer of a letter from Gallatin to the French Min. of for. Affairs, in which he informed him, in case the opinions and conduct of Armstrong were disagreeable to the Emperor, that upon a request or intimation of a wish on the part of the Emperor, Armstrong would be recalled.

The minister of foreign affairs being absent with the Emperor, Hauterive who held the port-feuille, gave up to Armstrong these letters. Swift said Armstrong was decided to have his just weight in the Cabinet, or to throw up his office ; that an understanding with

the Federalists in Congress was his wish ; that he desired nothing on their part in respect to himself ; that he was willing to co-operate agt. Virginia, leaving men and things to take their course when the Presidential Election comes on.

Genl. Armstrong speaks respectfully of Mr. King, wishes to open himself upon these topics to the Federalists. Mason recommended that he should do so to Mr. King and believes that as he is on a poise whether he is to have the fair support of the Pr. or not, that he will call on Mr. K. in a few days : he condemns the Generals—when Hull is disposed of, Wilkinson and Hampton will be brought to trial and crushed.

1814—Feby. 25.* Armstrong told me that the overture by the Bramble, was laid over at the first meeting of the Cabinet ; on that occasion he urged the absence of the Ministers' (Gallatin & al.) despatches. They were referred to by Castlereagh, no copy was sent : before the proposal to treat at Gottenburgh was accepted, they ought to have the letters of our Envoys. It was accordingly determined to wait. Unexpectedly however he was called to another meeting, when he found that a new Resolution had been adopted, and his presence was wanted to witness the adoption of the Letter to Castlereagh, accepting the overture to treat at Gottenburgh.

Armstrong said that there would be Peace ; they would give up everything. Something like the arrangement of Monroe and Pinkney, a mere informal Provision would be accepted. Gallatin, he said, *to his knowledge* † would have made Peace on these terms under the Russian mediation.

Feby. 28, 1814. Granger, speaking of the Virginian views, informed Mr. Mason, N. H., that he was particularly intimate with Jefferson, who urged him to remove to, and settle in, Virginia—offered him a portion of the Monticello Estate at 5. Doll. the acre ; and to engage him to settle there, said *Virginia was the head* of the Slave holding States, would always direct their politics ; that the New England States would be discontented and aim to govern the Nation ; that the primary object of Virginia must be

* In R. King's handwriting.

† This was said after the receipt of the late despatches, sent by Dallas to England, and received from thence by Anne Alexander, Russian Shp. arrived at Boston. The despatches, therefore, it is probable, contained this information.

to secure Pennsylvania, as with that State on her side she would always rule the Nation.

Among the measures proposed in the 12th Congress to provide means to carry on the war was one to borrow twenty-five millions of dollars. A Bill for that purpose was passed by the House of Representatives on March 4, 1814, and sent to the Senate asking their concurrence. On the 7th it was referred to a select committee consisting of Messrs. King, Giles and Roberts, and on the 10th Mr. King reported back the Bill with Amendments, which report was discussed for several days. The speeches are not to be found in the Annals of Congress *; but among Mr. King's papers are portions of the speeches he delivered during the debate. As will be seen this hinged upon an amendment brought in by the special committee to create a special Sinking Fund for the payment of the interest and final extinguishment of the debt by setting apart for the purpose enough of "the internal duties imposed during the last Session of Congress" instead of charging those payments upon the existing Sinking fund, which was no more than sufficient to pay the claimes under previous loans for which it had been specifically pledged. It will be seen that though Mr. King "had a desire to aid the loan," he could not do so without this pledge.

Loan Bill.

Substance of R. K.'s speech (in his handwriting).

It becomes my duty to state to the Senate the reasons which have led the Commtee to report the amendment on the Loan Bill.

The Bill from the House of Representatives proposes to borrow 25 millions of dollars, and pledges the Sinking Fund of 8 millions of dollars for the payment of the interest and the reimbursement of the capital of the proposed Loan.

Upon a reference of this Bill to a Committee of the Senate, the Committee have made a Report, recommending that the section of the Bill which pledges the Sinking Fund for the payment

* 13th Congress, 1813–14, p. 650 to 674

of the interest and the redemption of the principal of the proposed Loan should be struck out of the Bill, and that two new sections should be inserted in its place, appropriating so much of the internal Duties, imposed during the last Session of Congress, as should be sufficient to pay the annual interest of the Loan, with a further sum equal to one per centum upon the whole capital of the Loan to be annually applied towards the redemption of the principal thereof—and providing that the said internal Duties, subject to such modifications as may hereafter be found advantageous, should be continued and remain pledged for the payment of the interest and the redemption of the Principal of the Loan, until the same be fully reimbursed.

Altho' the Report of the Committee would be fully supported by shewing that the Sinking Fund, which is charged with the payment of the interest and the redemption of the principal of the new Loan, is already overcharged; and that the internal Taxes, proposed to be established in lieu of the Sinking Fund, have not been appropriated and are sufficient to pay the interest and redeem the principal of the new Loan; the subject is so intimately connected with the state of the public Finances, the extent of the public engagements, and the security of the public Credit, that a more enlarged support of the proposed amendment may with propriety be offered. It is proposed to present to the Senate a view of the Finances, under the following heads.

1st. A statement of the aggregate amount of the Debt of the U. S. including the Loan authorized by the Bill, and distinguishing the Debt incurred before the War from the Debt created since the War.

2d. An estimate of the Taxes receivable in the years 1814 & 1815—together with an estimate of the annual charges upon such Taxes, shewing the insufficiency of the Taxes to carry into effect the war plan of Finance.

3d. A statement of the amount of the actual charges upon the Sinking Fund, and shewing the exceedings of these charges above the amount of the Fund.

War Plan of Finance.

A plan of finance to be observed during the War, was brought before the H. of Representatives by the Committee of Ways and

Means. According to this plan, a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of the Peace Establishment, estimated at seven millions annually, together with a further sum which should be sufficient to pay the annual interest, including that upon the new Loans, payable by the U. S., is required to be raised by Taxes within each year—Government depending upon Loans, for money to meet and defray the extraordinary expenses of carrying on War.

To determine how far this plan, defective as it is in the omission of a Sinking Fund, will be adhered to in the current year, it is necessary to ascertain, in addition to the seven millions for the Peace Establishment, the amount of the annual interest that will be payable by the U. S., and then to compare the amount of these sums with the amount of the Taxes.

In ascertaining the amount of the annual interest, there can be no difference of opinion respecting any of the items, unless it may exist in regard to the annual interest payable to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund. By the law of May 1792 it is enacted that the interest of so much of the Debt of the U. S., as has been, or shall be purchased or redeemed for, or by the U. S., or as shall be paid into the Treasury thereof in satisfaction of any Debt or demand, shall be and hereby is appropriated and pledged firmly and inviolably for and to the purchase and redemption of the said Debt.

By the Law of March 1795. In addition to the money before appropriated to the S. F., this Act appropriates to it the neat proceeds of the sales of Lands belonging to, or which shall hereafter belong to, theU. S. in the Western Territory thereof. And the ninth section of this Law declares that the monies (including the interest on the redeemed Debt) thus assigned to the Commrs of the S. F. shall be and continue to be, appropriated to the said Fund, and vested in the Commissioners thereof in trust—to be applied to the reimbursement and redemption of the then existing Debt; And the Faith of the U. S. is pledged that the monies and funds aforesaid shall inviolably remain and be appropriated and vested as aforesaid, to be applied to the reimbursement and redemption in manner aforesaid.

These provisions of the Laws creating the Sinking Fund have never been repealed, and the following principles are established by them.

1st. That every portion of the funded Debt that is reimbursed or redeemed, must be transferred to the Comrs. of the S. F., and the interest thereof must be annually paid by the Treasury Department to the said Commissioners, who are required to apply the same to reimburse or redeem further sums of the principal of the Debt.

2nd. That the proceeds of the annual sales of public Lands are also annually payable to the Commrs. of the S. F., to be by them in like manner applied towards the redemption as aforesaid of the principal of the Debt.

As the Debt, to redeem which the S. F. is established, is not yet paid off, and as the Comrs. of the S. F., equally with individual Creditors are entitled to receive the annual interest payable upon the stock standing in their names, to ascertain the amount of interest annually payable by the U. S., it is necessary to add the sum payable to the Commrs. of the S. F. to the sum payable to other persons. The following statement shows the sum payable by the U. S. in the year 1814 out of the Taxes to be raised within that year.

To defray the annual expenses of the peace establishment		7,000,000.00
Interest on the loans, including that on stocks standing in the name of the Com. S. F. 1,971,316.67 & ⅓ yrs int. on New Loan, of 28,328, acc. at 6%, 562,000		6,911,764.42
Aggregate amount		13,911,764.42
Estimate of Taxes receivable in the year 1814.		
from Custom House Bonds	5,500,000	
from duties recd. in Cash	500,000	
from Land Tax and internal duties	3,500,000	9,500,000.00
leaving a deficit in the Taxes of 1814 to satisfy all charges		4,411,764.42

In the estimate laid before Congress from the Treasury Department during the present Session, the Deficit of the Taxes instead of the 4,411,764 dollars, is estimated at something less than

one million dollars. This important difference arises from the erroneous increase of the amount of Taxes of the year 1814, by the addition of 1,180,000 dollars of former appropriations remaining in the Treasury at the end of last year, by the further addition of 600,000, the estimated proceeds of the annual sales of pub. Lands, and by the withholding, from the annual charges upon the Taxes of the year, the sum of 1,971,316, being the interest annually payable out of the Taxes to the Commissioners of the S. F.

There is no propriety in bringing forward the unapplied surplus of the appropriation of a former year in aid of the Taxes receivable within the current year, because the war plan of finance, the observance of which is under consideration, project is to raise within each year the whole sum chargeable upon the Taxes of the year. Besides this surplus is conjectural and may be, and probably will be, wanted to satisfy outstanding claims for past services, and if not so wanted, ought to be applied in aid of the new Loan to defray the war expenses of the current year.

There is still less propriety in adding to the Taxes of 1814, which are applicable to the payment of interest and to the support of the Peace Establishment, the 600,000 expeeted to be received from the sales of pub. Land; because this sum is inviolably appropriated, under the sanction of the faith of the U. S. to the S. F., and the same is required to be by the Comrs. of that Fund, annually applied in the redemption of the principal of the pub. Debt.

The Laws which require the payment to the Comrs. of the S. F. of the annual interest upon the redeemed Debt standing in their names, have already been stated: and none can doubt that the interest so payable is an annual charge upon the Taxes of the year, and ought so to appear. The conclusion is also established that the deficit in the Taxes of the year will exceed Four millions instead of falling below One million.

Should the war continue another year, as no additional Taxes are proposed, as the land Tax is laid for only one year, as the Embargo and System of commercial restriction will be as necessary next year as they are this, and as the revenue from foreign trade will be reduced still lower, the Deficit in the Taxes, alarming as it may be this year, must be still greater. The following is an estimate of the sums which will be payable by the U. S. in the year

1815, out of the Taxes to be raised within that year, pursuant to the War plan of finance.

For the Peace Establishment and for Interest, the same as in 1814, deducting 562,081,28, being ½ years Int. on the 25, Mills., Loans the whole year's int. being charged below	13,349,663.14
Int. on 28,328, 611 dolls., Loan of 1814	1,699,716.66
Int. on loan of 1815, supposing its amt. and terms the same as in 1814. ½ year's interest	562,081.28
	15,611,461.08

Estimate of the amount of Taxes receivable in 1815.

From Custom House Bonds & duties of import & tonnage	3,500,000.00
From arrears of Land Tax & Internal Duties of 1814	1,500,000.00
From Internal Duties	2,000,000.00
	7,000,000.00
leaves a deficit of the Taxes of 1815 to satisfy the charges thereupon	8,611,461.08

The sure symptom and forerunner of the explosion of the public credit in every country has been the continued and increasing Deficit in the Taxes. Loans are the extraordinary resource of a Nation, and are only resorted to on extraordinary occasions. The enormous expenses of modern war cannot be defrayed by contemporaneous Taxes. But Taxes must be levied sufficient to maintain the ordinary Government, to pay the interests of the Loans, and to enable the S. F. to redeem the Debt.

If instead of levying Taxes sufficient to meet these objects, Loans are resorted to, not only for extraordinary services, but to pay the Civil List, or the interest of former Loans ; and especially if no Sinking Fund be provided, by the operation whereof the price of the stocks shall be kept up, an object of not less importance to Government than to the stockholders, we may be certain that the difficulty in obtaining Loans will be greater and greater, that their terms will become harder and harder, until finally they cannot be obtained on any terms.

The Deficit in our finances is great—will become greater—and if war continues the only remedy is to be sought for in Taxes. The evil is not to be prevented by refusing to look at it ; Congress must impose Taxes, or consent to become answerable for the consequences of their not doing it.

When the Debt of the U. S. was funded, it was thought to be essential to the solidity and stability of the public credit, not only to provide and pledge adequate funds to pay the annual interest, but moreover to provide and vest in certain Commissioners an annual Fund, afterwards denominated the Sinking Fund, to be inviolably applied to reimburse the Principal of the Debt.

It cannot be requisite to repeat the arguments employed to establish the principles of public credit then adopted. It must suffice to say that not only their truth and importance are at this day everywhere acknowledged ; but that without their strict observance, any extensive system of funding the public Debt will prove pernicious to the Nation that adopts it.

Without enumerating the sums, which from time to time were appropriated to the S. F., it may be stated, that before the year 1802 this Fund principally consisted of the annual interest upon the redeemed Debt, standing in the name of the Commissioners, and of the annual proceeds of the sales of the public Lands. In the year 1802 a Law was passed to enlarge the duties of the Commissioners of the S. F., which had before been confined to the paying off and redeeming the principal of the public Debt. By this Law, the Commissioners are constituted Agents to pay the interest of the public Debt, which had before been paid by the federal Commissioners of the Loan offices, and by the Department of the Treasury ; and so much of the duties of import and tonnage, as with the monies belonging to the S. F., should together make 7,300,000 dollars, was appropriated to the Sinking Fund. Afterwards in the year 1803, when the interest upon the Louisiana stock became payable, a further sum of 700,000, dollars, to be taken from the duties of import and tonnage, was appropriated to the S. F., which was thereby increased to the annual sum of eight millions of dollars, and this Fund is pledged to redeem the existing Debt. It is not obvious why the original plan of the S. F., was in this manner changed. The purpose of its establishment was to confirm the national Credit, by the grad-

ual redemption of the principal of the public Debt ; and notwithstanding the additional funds appropriated to the S. F., and the new duties required of the Commrs, the original provisions and pledges of the S. F. made and enacted by the Loans of 1790 and 1795, still remain unimpaired, and in conformity to them, the public Debt which has been redeemed, has been transferred to, and stands in the names of the Commissioners of the S. F., and is held by them in trust to apply the annual interest thereof, together with the neat proceeds of the annual sales of the public Lands, to the redemption of the principal of the old Debt of the U. S. and to no other purpose. Moreover, in pursuance of the original plan of the S. F., the Laws of 1802 and 1803, with equal precision and force with those of 1790 and 1795, appropriate the whole S. F., consisting of the annual sum of 8 millions to the payment of the interest and the reimbursement of the principal, the three per cents excepted, of the then existing Debt of the U. S. ; and the S. F. is vested in the Commrs thereof to be by them applied accordingly.

Notwithstanding these Laws and the solemn pledge of the public Faith, notwithstanding that more that 40 mills. of the old Debt remains unredeemed, immediately on the breaking out of the war, when the preservation of the public credit could alone enable the Govt. to meet the extraordinary expenses of the war, Congress broke in upon the S. F., and in the year 1812, the principal and interest of the Loan of Eleven millions were charged upon the S. F.

In 1813, the interest and principal of the Sixteen million Loan, and the interest and principal of the Seven and a half million Loan, were also charged upon the S. F. In addition to which sums, the interest and principal of the temporary Loans, together with the interest and principal of an average annual Sum of Five Millions of Treasury Notes are in like manner charged upon the same Fund. And it is now proposed by the Bill before the Senate, to charge this Fund with the interest and principal of the Stock of the new Loan of 25 Millions. These great additional charges have been made since the War, and without any addition having been made or even proposed, to the Sinking Fund.

By recapitulating the charges upon the S. F., it will be manifest that it is insufficient to satisfy them.

The various stocks redeemed by the Commrs. of the S. F. and standing in their names Dec. 31, 1813, amounted to		$33,873,453
The annual interest on which stocks is	1,971,316.67	
Estd. The annual proceeds of sale of pub. Lands	600,000.00	
		2,571,316.67

This sum of 2,571,316.67 must according to the provisions of the Laws establishing the S. F. be annually paid by the Treasury Department to the Commissioners of the S. F., who are obliged to apply the same to redeem the principal of the old Debt of the U. S.

The S. F. of Eight millions of dollars is already charged to pay in the course of the year 1814

Towards the redemption of the Principal of the old Debt	1,971,316.67
Amount of the annual proceeds of sales of pub. Lands	600,000.00
Interest upon 59,463,763.07, 6% stock	3,567,824.16
Annuities of 1813, upon 16. Million Loan	7,968.00
Interest upon 16,158,177.34, 3 per cent Stock	484,655.50
Interest upon 5 millions Treasury notes at 5⅝ pr. ct.	270,000.00
Reimbursement of temporary Loans	750,000.00
Reimbursement of 5 millions Treasury notes	5,000,000.00
	12,651,764.33

being a surplus of 4,651,764.36 dollars above the amount of the Fund.

Upon this Fund already overcharged more than Forty per cent, the Bill sent from the H. of R. proposes to charge the principal and interest of the new Stock of the 25 million Loan ; the annual interest of which Stock will be not less than 1,680,000 ; in other words, the Fund, out of which the interest and principal of the new Loan are proposed to be paid, is unable to pay one cent of them.

In private concerns, such an attempt would be hopeless ; and Congress should in time reflect, whether they consult the interest

and honor of the Nation, whether they will worthily discharge their own duty by hazarding what they must hazard in attempting to obtain a Loan in this exceptionable manner. If the Loan fail, because the offered security is defective, who ought to be, who will be responsible to the Nation ?

Anticipating the calamitous consequences, private as well as public, of a failure to fill the Loan, let Congress attempt to avert this great calamity by those means which are within their power, means that it may be hoped may be sufficient to ensure success. Let them provide and pledge Funds, adequate to pay the interest and to redeem the principal of the new Loan. Let them moreover engage that the Funds so provided shall continue to be so applied until the Debt be redeemed.

The product of the internal Taxes, which have not yet been appropriated, will be sufficient for this purpose—possibly in the commencement, the proceeds of these Taxes may be less than hereafter they will become. But with such modifications as experience may suggest, this Fund will be adequate to fulfil the object of its appropriation.

There is another object of great importance connected with the establishment of a permanent system of internal Taxes. The revenue derived from foreign trade is dependent upon the laws, the justice, the moderation and the policy of foreign Powers. It is not therefore a resource upon which Nations can rely in extraordinary occasions ; and certainly ought not in these circumstances to be the only resource.

Altho' war between other commercial Nations has the effect to increase our own neutral commerce, and the revenue derived from it ; yet war in which the U. S. are a party, curtails our trade, and diminishes the revenue received from it. Moreover as commerce is considered and employed by our national authorities as an instrument to compel other Nations to change their measures, and to pursue a policy more agreeable to us, the insecurity of trade and of the revenue which it affords, are not only dependent upon foreign Powers, but upon the foreign policy of our own Government.

Debate on the Loan Bill continued.

Friday, 18 March. Mr. Bibb of Georgia—Objection.—Mr. K's Estimate of Debt erroneous—because 2 millions of debt will be

paid off in 1814 : this therefore should be deducted from his Estimate of the aggregate of the Debt at the end of 1814.

Answer. The war plan of finance is now stated to be to raise within the year enough to defray 7 mill. on acct. of the Peace Establishment, and the whole interest upon the Debt, including that of new Loans—*unfunding the Sinking Fund in its operation to redeem the Debt during the war* and effecting the stipulated redemption of pub. Debt by contracting new Loans.

It is plain from this statement of the plan of finance, that such redemption of ten millions of the principal of the Debt cannot diminish the Debt ; because for every two millions redeemed the money is obtained by borrowing, and contracting new Debt of equal amount—in other words an equal Debt is contracted. If a man owes 5000 dollars, for which he has given 5 different Bonds of 1000 dols. each, and his purpose be to pay them off, and he does pay off one Bond annually, and out of his income, he will reduce his Debt twenty five per cent yearly, and in five years pay off the whole Debt. But if, to enable him to pay off this Debt, he annually borrows 1000 dol. upon a new Bond and with this pays off an old Bond for the same sum, will any one say he has lessened his Debt ; if he will, the problem is a curious one, in how many years, at this rate, will he be able to pay off the whole of his Debt ? The operation is a delusion, it is downright staring folly, and very ill comports with the sincerity of the profession of respect for the intelligence of our fellow Citizens which we so often hear repeated.

Mr. Bibb of Georgia. 2d. Objection.—The comparison of the annual income and the charges which are made upon it, according to the war plan of finance—inasmuch as the plan includes the proceeds of the annual sales of pub. land as a branch of income, and it is excluded from the statement offered by Mr. K.

Answer.—All will allow that the proceeds of the Lands are inviolably appropriated, and under the sanction of the pub. faith, are alone payable to the Comrs. of the S. F., to be applied to redeem the principal of the old Debt.

In the comparison of the income and the charges upon it, the proceeds of the Land neither appear as a branch of the income, nor does the reimbursement of any part of the principal of the debt appear as a charge upon it, the income. If the proceeds of

Land sales be added to the income, a correspondent additional charge must be made upon the income to enable the Commrs. to pay off so much of the principal of the old Debt, as such proceeds would redeem. Hence it is manifest that the result is the same which ever way the account is stated. The deficit in the current year exceeds 4 mills., instead of falling short one Million.

But the question is not whether there be a deficit or not; that is admitted by all; the only enquiry is whether it be one or four millions.

Bibb. Geog. 3d. Objection.—The charges upon the Sinking Fund, by which they are made to exceed the amount of the Fund by more than four millions are erroneous. First by the charge of 750,000 dol. temporary Loan upon this Fund; which is to be reimbursed by money to be borrowed or by creating an equivalent and new Debt. And secondly, by the charge of 5 mil. of Treasury Notes; which tho' in fact charged by Law upon the S. F., ought not to have been so charged, and which are not an incumbrance except for a single year, after which the Fund will be adequate.

Answer. The inquiry is not what ought to have been charged, but what is charged upon the S. F. The payment of the temporary Loan of 750,000 dols. and of the 5 mils. of Treasury Notes is by Law charged upon the S. F.; and the question, therefore, whether the Fund be sufficient, is a simple one of arithmetic. By this rule it is ascertained that the fund is this year deficient more than four millions.

But there is a still more conclusive answer which may be given to the doubts whether the Sinking Fund be sufficient to satisfy the charges already made upon it, and moreover to pay the interest of the proposed Loan of 25 millions.

By the Law of 1803, which increased the Sinking Fund to the sum of 8 millions, the whole of the S. F. is vested in the Comrs. and appropriated to the payment of the interest and principal of the Debt of the U. S., existing at that time. More than Forty millions of that Debt still remains unredeemed; and the faith of the U. S. is pledged to the holders of this stock to apply this sum, this identical Fund, annually in the payment of the interest, and reimbursement of the principal of the Debt.

By what principle of honest policy, by what rule of justice or of honor, can Congress now divert this Fund? Congress may

repeal the Laws of the U. S. but can they repeal their Contracts? Congress may pledge the public faith and the President may pledge the honor of the U. S. but can either withdraw the pledge, until that be performed for which faith and honor are the security? I address myself to the Senators of the U. S.; I put this question to honorable men.

You have charged upon the Sinking Fund the interest of the war Loans already made; and you now propose to add to this charge more than a million and a half, on acct. of the 25 mil. Loan; in case the S. F. should become insufficient to discharge these additional burthens upon it, the Bill pledges the faith of the U. S. to make up such deficiency.

Thus you propose to the money lenders to advance their money upon the security of the Sinking Fund, supported by the pledge of the pub. faith; you do this, forgetting that the entire Fund is pledged, and that by offering to pledge it afresh, you violate the pub. faith. Why has this device been resorted to? why has it been attempted to withdraw from the Sinking Fund so much thereof as stands pledged to the Creditors to be applied annually in paying off the principal of the old Debt, as may from year to year be required to pay the interest upon the new Loans? Why has it been resolved that the public faith should be violated for this purpose?

According to the war plan of finance, as now explained, for every reimbursement of the principal of the old Debt, the money, instead of being taken from the Fund provided for that purpose, is to be borrowed, and so much of the S. F. as may thereby be liberated, is to be applied to pay the interest of the new Loans.

Why not preserve the pub. faith by suffering the S. F. to proceed according to the provisions of Law, and borrow to pay the interest of the new Loans? the effect as regards the increase of the Debt would be the same in either course. The only imaginable reason is that the public credit might be, as it ought to be and will be, affected by a system of borrowing, in which money is borrowed not only for the extraordinary service of war, but to pay the interest of former Loans. But does the device resorted to conceal the truth? Money lenders are among the keenest and most sharpsighted men in society. They understand their

business, and examine most critically your Laws and your practice under them.

Instead of gaining in point of interest, by an expense of character, we shall be certain to lose in both ; we shall lose in character by a palpable and unnecessary violation of the public faith ; we shall lose in interest. To show this requires a short illustration of the nature and salutary influence of a Sinking Fund.

The ultimate purpose of a Sinking Fund is to pay off in a given time a public Debt. Thus one per cent of the capital of any Loan, annually applied, interest being 6 per. cent., would pay off any Loan or Debt in about 34 years. The effect of this regular demand and gradual redemption is to keep up the value or price of the stock ; so that the stockholder may at any time sell out at the price he bought in. This stability in value induces persons, having money on hand, to invest the same in the purchase of stocks, knowing when the money is wanted to provide for his children, to improve his estate, or to engage in business, that he can sell out of the stocks without loss. Not only is the stability of the price of the stocks advantageous to the stockholder, but Government itself is deeply concerned therein ; and at no time so much concerned as in time of war, and especially in a war, the expenses of which are to be wholly defrayed by a series of Loans.

As the borrowing by a Government, is nothing more than selling its Bonds, or certificates of stock, it requires no proof to show, that the higher the price of stock, the more money will Govt. receive on the sale of its certificates or stock. If the 6 per, cents were now at 98 or 99, as they were at the declaration of war, Govt. would receive 98 or 99 dollars for every certificate of 100 dollars ; instead of receiving only 88 and a fraction dollars, as it did upon the last Loan. The Sinking Fund, instead of being violated, should have been suffered to continue in full operation ; every new Loan should have been accompanied by the provision of an increase of the S. F. sufficient to pay off such Loan in a given time, and taxes sufficient to pay the expense of the Peace Establishment and the interest of the Debt, including the new Loans, should have been raised within each year. Had this been done, the stocks would have maintained their value ; Individuals would more readily lend, and the Govt. would effect their Loans with greater certainty and on better terms.

Indeed without adding to the 8 million Fund, which may properly be called part of the S. F., as the same existed at the declaration of war ; if the 8 million Fund had been annually increased by a sum sufficient to pay the interest of the new Loans, it would have had great influence in maintaining the price of the stocks, and would be moreover, sufficient to redeem the whole Debt, including the new Loans, in a limited time.

A Nation cannot carry on a war by Loans, unless it have an annual income equal to the annual interest upon its Debt, and moreover sufficient to apply an annual sum towards the redemption of the principal of every Loan ; nor can this be done in our own country unless the system of commercial restrictions and Embargoes be absolutely and forever abandoned.

Endorsed by R. K. Loan Bill debate continued Mar. 18, 1814.

Remark—The division of the Sinking Fund, by making Loans to redeem Loans, ill policy ; bad economy, because as you pay off at the nominal amount of the Debt, and sell new stock to raise the money, you are losers by the operation of the amount of discount upon the sale ; and the Debt is increased by as much more, as the new stock sold under par, exceeds the old stock redeemed. Thus if the stock be 90, or at a discount of 10 pr. ct, you must sell 1100 dollars to redeem 1000.

Report of Debate on Loan Bill.

(Not in R. K.'s writing)

Mr. King said he would, notwithstanding the inducement to retort and criminate, to do which he did not feel himself incompetent, confine himself to his original purpose. He said the Honorable Gentleman, Mr. Bibb, Georgia, on the present occasion and all others set an example of decorum, which all ought to imitate. He then examined the constitutional sample set up by Mr. Brown. Mr. King felt no difficulty as it regarded the privileges of the other Branch ; it would be competent to protect its own rights. Mr. King replied to the observations of Mr. Bibb of Kentucky, more repugnant than any oration delivered in fifty years. He had not supposed any gentleman so informed. If moral

sense was as obligatory, why a bond? Why establish courts of Law? If men be morally honest, lawyers may learn other trades. It seems to be held that if a man doubt the obligation and force of morality, he is an assassin. If enlightened jurists be necessary to coerce contracts of moral individuals, what will be necessary to coerce Congress? Corporations have no conscience. For the reason Congress cannot be sued, is a strong reason why a public Creditor wishes something equivalent to the agency of courts. Ask in what case, in which funds had not been set apart for Loans and a war conducted on such principles, an explosion in the public credit did not follow. If he wished to advise the measure, that would sooner overthrow the government than any other, he would recommend proceeding without pledging funds.

Mr. King then replied to the remarks of Mr. Bibb, of Kentucky relative to the Laws of the Confederation to pledge. Moral honesty existed then as much as it does now; but the States did not furnish their Quotas. An illustration of my ideas of the efficacy of moral sense.

Can any man doubt that with a designated and pledged Fund, you can borrow on better terms? Which would most likely succeed a Bill with or without a sufficient pledge? He replied to the inconsistency of Mr. Bibb, that a former administration had put its hands too deeply into the people's pocket. Compare the economy of the present and former. As to the power of Congress to pass a law which a future Congress cannot repeal, Mr. King made a few very irresistible observations.

Mr. King replied to Mr. Bibb, of Georgia, as to the amount of the public Debt. He apprehended the several charges then will be a deficit of 4 millions. Here Mr. King stated Mr. Bibb's idea, and then quoted from the Laws to establish his own hypothesis—90–95—Comment—a process in law by which a Nation may be made to do justice. Mr. King stated the operation of the Sinking Fund, as working a security to the Creditors. Have I not made out a case? And is not this revenue, the Sinking Fund already pledged?

Here Mr. Bibb, of G, explained—

Mr. K. said he was not aware that the correction changed his ground. To apply the Sinking Fund in the mode spoken of is following *a fraud*. The advantages of the Sinking Fund. It

would allow the Creditor to exchange your stock in market for his money when he wanted it. The ludicrous idea of a Sinking Fund furnished by borrowing illustrated by a promising himself, without an undertaking to the Creditor, to appropriate a certain sum to discharge his Debts—finds it inconvenient and revokes. The Sinking Fund is an addition to the original obligation. What will be the consequence, if progressing in this way? Consult the true state of the finances. He pressed an attention to the importance to the public Credit. He hoped we should come out of this war with credit—and the attainment to a reasonable extent of the object for which it is prosecuted.

Mr. K. stated the estimates of the money required for 1814, and then the ways and means; can gentlemen then expect that they will not fail when their expenses exceed? He concluded by a simple and different view by way of a reply to Mr. Bibb of Georgia. The Sinking Fund is pledged for the Debt antecedent to the war; if any man will deny it, I will sit down. You offer a pledge of faith by a violation of faith. He had not the power nor the inclination to deceive. He had a desire to aid the Loan. If this Loan fails we are degraded not only in our own eyes, but in the eyes of our enemy. I hoped all would cooperate. I disdain the insinuation of being influenced by scorching ambition. Mr. King here enlarged in an emphatic and energetic manner, in which he asserted his motives &c.* He was pleased with the annunciation of Mr. Jefferson, but he had not acted up to his promises. He begged gentlemen to look at the proposition on its own merits. He did not claim greater sagacity or experience; but he had some years and had seen what had happened in other countries.

* See Appendix IV.

CHAPTER XXI.

Morris to King—Where in God's Name is this to end?—King—Conversation with the Secy. of War—About Conquest of Canada—With Col. Monroe—Relative to the Bank-Bill—Is an Armistice probable—Has the Admiral Power to make it?—King to Morris—Wishes he could console him in the present State of Affairs—National Bank—Is Armistice probable?—King to Gore—No Peace in Europe till Bonaparte receives Coup de Grace—The Impressment said not to be of pressing Importance now—Peace on any Terms—Jay to King—Morris' Address on Overthrow of Napoleon, King To——Believes Peace will be made, England and the Maritime Powers want it—Drain of Specie—Proposed Coalition of N. Y. and Southern Banks—Remarks on it—King to Gore—Advises no Association with Southern Banks—Farther Remarks on the financial Condition—Gore to King—Boston Bank—Specie going to Canada—Do not consider the New Loan satisfactory Security for Loans—King—Memorandum of State of Negotiations.

G. Morris to R. King.

Morrisania, March 23, 1814.

Dear Sir:

I have to thank you, tho' late, for Favors long since received. The Report of the Secretary at War will do no Credit to the Administration or to the Country. That of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund is shocking. Where, in God's name is all this to End? Men without Talents, administering the Powers of a conventional Government over Communities which boast of Freedom, exercise a Tyranny which would drive the Slaves of Asia to Despair, and no Man is hardy enough to raise a finger. Am I awake or do I dream? Is this the People that resisted a mere Claim of arbitrary Power? It seems to me I was once a Member of Congress during a revolutionary War; but is it certain there was such a thing as a Congress? Was there a revolutionary War? If I venture to groan aloud I am told to be patient—to wait;—and what are we to wait for? Must we wait till the

Claws of a human Tiger rake our stinking Bowels to look for a Heart? We once had Hearts—Hearts that beat high with the Love of Liberty—But tis over, Adieu—I will not plague my friends with the Expression of my Anguish—God bless you.

Yours,

GOUV. MORRIS.

ENDORSED, CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECY. OF WAR AND R. K.

April 5, 1814.

Secy of War—Wilkinson having scented the intention to bring him before a Court of Enquiry, has demanded a Court Martial. This will be granted, but as the requisite number of Generals cannot be spared to try W. he will remain in service: probably he may be ordered to take the command at Washington and generally upon the Chesapeake. Porter will be nominated Brig. Genl. to command at Norfolk, where Parker, whom the Senate negatived, was to have commanded. An officer other than a Virginian required, on the score of economy.

R. K. How are you going on with the recruiting service? and will you invade Canada this year? S. W.—If we are in earnest the recruiting would proceed well—but new views are entertained—pains are taken to impress upon the Western States, that Canada is a fertile and desirable country,—if acquired by the U. S. that the surplus population of the East will go to Canada, and not as now to the Western States—that the consequence will be to check their population and prosperity—this will endure until Canada be filled—hence it will be expedient to defer the acquisition of Canada until the Western States are fully populated and their vacant lands taken up and settled—There will be no Peace. R. K. You have then changed your opinion which was lately favorable to the expectation of an early Peace.

S. W. I have altered my opinion. I think the late and great success of the allies will indispose G. Br.; their terms will be too hard, and a war pulse will be excited upon the failure of the mission to Gottenburgh. In this case we must take Canada and Nova Scotia.

R. K. Are you not mistaken about your expected war pulse? What reason have you to conclude that your Cabinet will not

descend as G. B. rises? And in case of a failure at Gottenburgh, is it not probable that another mission will be despatched to sue again for Peace?

S. W. It cannot, or rather ought not to be expected. R. K. One other view of the subject—Do you believe, and if you do, are you not deceived, that you or any other man of talents from the East will be permitted to acquire the credit of conquering Canada, or of rendering any other important service to the country? I do not wait for a reply, but express my own opinion that the Virginia Dynasty will never allow to you an opportunity to take Canada. Peace is the order, and the object, of the day. It is to be sought for, and accepted upon the best terms which can be attained. But Peace must be had upon any terms. R. K. was at no loss to interpret the feelings of the S. W. and broke off the conference.

Col. Monroe.

April 6, 1814.

K. Will the Bank Bill pass? M. I do not know, but the juncture is favorable. K. Will the President consent or refuse the bill? M. I am not able to say with confidence; but I think he might regard the measure as expedient; and if the Legislature pass a Law for a Bank, notwithstanding his former doubt he might suffer the Bill to become a Law without his signature. K. Will not the relinquishment of the restrictive system occasion great difficulty and vexation in the importation of Eng. Goods? they can come only as neutral property, but will be liable to seizure and detention by both Eng. and Amer. Cruizers and officers, as American or English property. Would it not be expedient by Law to Vest in the President extensive powers relative to the importations and exportations of the U. S.? All other Governments leave this power in their Executives. It may be equally the disposition, and the interest, of G. B. and of the U. S. to mitigate the Laws of war, and to give from time to time to their respective Cruizers instructions to permit a regulated intercourse between the two countries. M. I perceive that the difficulties to which you refer will exist. The merchants and ships of the U. S. will derive little advantage from the removal of the restrictive system. Neutrals only will be benefitted. Perhaps it will be advisable that

a pretty extensive power should be vested in the hands of the President. K. If there be a reasonable hope of Peace, why proceed immediately to fill up the army—Why invade Canada, when the Status quo ante bellum will restore it, should you have taken it? M. If Congress remain two or three weeks in session, something important from Europe may be expected. The *Bramble* sailed from this Country———and must have long ago arrived in Eng. If ministers be immediately appointed to proceed to Gottenburgh, and evidence shews itself of the expectation of an early Peace, we shall learn it; we shall know it shortly; moreover despatches from the Continent may be soon expected. K. Do you believe that the Br. Adl. has any power to conclude an armistice? M. I know he has power. K. That is extraordinary. I recollect no example of Eng. ever having granted any such power, except to Warren—She has constantly declined a truce upon the ocean in all her modern wars. The offer of an Armistice to America was I suspect without precedent. (Mr. M. appeared to be shook in his opinion, or as he said knowledge, that the Adl. on this station has a power to conclude an Armistice.) K. I hope that if Peace be expected the evils of war may be diminished as much as possible. M. distinctly insinuated that they expected information which would change our affairs, and that Congress would be wanted to adjust the laws to such expected change.

☞ An Armistice is possibly expected?

K. Has Crawford made any progress? M. He has pressed the claim of compensation with strenuousness. The Duke of Vicence used general assurance. Crawford returned to the charge and again pressed the claim. The Duke in answer admitted the justice of the claim for compensation and engaged to submit the subject to the Emperor. Crawford again pressed the subject, and the Duke left Paris to appear at the Congress of Chatillon.

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

Owing to my confinement for nearly a fortnight by an inflammation of one of my Eyes, I have not been able, more seasonably,

to thank you for one or two letters that I have received from you during this time.

I wish I could console you, by disproving your representation of the degraded and dangerous condition of the country. Where, and in what, the disorder of our Affairs will end no one can predict.

The entire derangement of the Finances, joined to the late news from France, drove the President to abandon the restrictive system. But so long as the Enemy keeps up the Blockade, altho' English Goods may come in, the Produce of the Country not being suffered to go out, the Payment for Eng. Goods must be made in Specie, and thereby the difficulties which the Govt. already feel, will be increased, not lessened, by the new attitude, as it is called.

Mr. Astor, for himself, Parish & Girard, has been here recommending to the administration the immediate Establishment of a National Bank, and has assured them the measure would enable the Govt. immediately to borrow of the Bank 15 Millions of Dollars. An effort to incorporate such a Bank was made, but has been abandoned, in the H. of Reps.

A Judge Moers, or some such name, was in Canada some three months since, where he and Adjutant Genl. Baynes talked about an armistice ; Baynes expressing himself favorably about it. Judge Moers, who lives in the N. E. part of New York, reported this conversation to a Mr. Winter, a Representative from that Quarter, in Congress ; he communicated it to Genl. Armstrong, who authorized Genl. Winder (who lately returned from a visit to his family, to his Prison in Quebec) to confer with Sir Geo. Provost concerning it, alluding to the subject as an overture made by Baynes. Sir George not admitting that Baynes was authorized to hold any conversation with Moers, said an armistice was a good thing, and that he should not object to make an armistice upon the Nova Scotia and Canada frontier, including the Lakes. He was asked if he could extend it to the maritime frontier ; he answered ambiguously or negatively ; and being asked whether the admiral on this station possessed power to give to an armistice this Extension, he recommended the enquiry to be made of the admiral. Such is understood to be Winder's communication lately received by Government. The *Cabinet* has taken measures

to ascertain from the Admiral, whether a maritime armistice will be consented to by him ; and as there is some reason to believe that the Admiral has lately arrived in the Chesapeake, the enquiry will be likely to receive an early response. Our Rulers would most gladly now accept what they refused when Warren offered it. But I have no belief that the Admiral has any power to consent to a maritime truce, or to unblockade our ports. I therefore have little expectation that any relief from the Blockade will be had, until Peace be concluded. On that subject I cannot but believe that the mission to Gottenburgh will make Peace upon the best Terms that they can obtain—because the Administration must see that they cannot carry on the war another year.

With great regard & Esteem I am, &c.

RUFUS KING.

P. S. The Rumour of an armistice is expected to help the Loan. Congress have agreed to adjourn on the 18th instant.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., May 24, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . The next news from Europe, as I hope, will be still more decisive than that recd. by the late arrivals—I shall not think the work done, nor can I expect Repose in the world, until the Tyrant receives the coup de Grace. Any treaty with Bonaparte would be insecure—I care nothing about the Bourbons, but by their reestablishment there may be and probably will be a Peace of considerable duration—I therefore earnestly hope that the Allies will persevere until Bonaparte be expelled from France.

Of our Negotiators I know nothing but what was equally known to you before we left Washington, except that a letter from Beasley (Comy. of Prisoners London) to Charles, recd. by the latter lately arrived, mentions, that Gallatin & Bayard, were in Holland, that the former had applied for Passports to come to England, that he Beasley having, thro the Bermuda News Paper, ascertained that Gallatin was appointed to negotiate at Gottenburgh, had sent him notice thereof, and concluded that he would proceed thither—so that there is no doubt that the Gottenburgh negotiations will be assisted by Gallatin.

Of terms I can suggest no new thought—except that, should a continental Peace have been concluded, or its conclusion believed to be near, our Envoys wd. say the Question of Impressment had ceased to be of *present importance*. Peace might be concluded upon the Status quo, and the Discussion respecting Impressment taken up after the Conclusion of the War. This would be but a poor Escape; but if I mistake not, would be preferred to the Continuance of the War. Wise and intelligent as we are, does any one doubt that the Country wd. still adhere to, and approve such a Device of the Administration? I am persuaded that those who approved the Embargo, &c., and who approved also its Repeal, after approving the war for Sailors' Rights, will approve of a Peace that takes no care of them.

Democracy honored & loved Louis XVI.—it loved & honored Robespierre & Company who murdered him, it loved and honored Bonaparte who overturned them, and should it happen that Louis 18th expels Bonaparte, and reigns in his Place, he will succeed to the good will, favor, & partiality of our Democracy.

And there is no inconsistancy in all this, because it is not attachment to France but hatred of England which occasions these apparent changes. What becomes of Jacob's 5 Mil. of the Loan, I know not; he applied in the city for 1¼ Mil. to pay his first Instalment due to-morrow, could not obtain a cent—went to Albany came back without success, and has returned I believe to Washington. Miserable administration to be reduced to seek the aid of such men. Our Legislature is democratic, so that I fear German will lose his seat. I hear nothing of a successor, who will succeed German? I have recd. half a Doz. applications for my vote for a successor to poor Otis. But have answered none.

R. K.

JOHN JAY TO R. KING.

BEDFORD, June 23, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

I this morning rec'd your obliging Letter of 20 Inst. I sincerely rejoice in the events to which you allude and should be happy to join our Friends in the proposed Celebration of them. . . . The oration will doubtless correspond with the acknowledged Talents of the Author. The subject certainly has Bear-

ings on and towards Topics which prudential Considerations render delicate; and which it is desirable should be treated accordingly. I presume it will be committed to your consideration and that, under a joint Revision, it will be freed from any Idea or Expression of doubtful Expediency which in the Haste of Composition may have escaped uncorrected. *

Circumstanced as I am, I can only thank my Friends for thinking of me and express my Regret that I cannot be with them on so joyful an occasion.

Unless I regain more Health and strength than I at present enjoy, I cannot promise myself the satisfaction of seeing my Friends any where but here, and here it will always give me pleasure to receive them. It cannot be necessary to say that I number you among them; so that I am with the best wishes for your Health and Prosperity

Dr. Sir your obt. Servt.

JOHN JAY

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., July 11, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

I am obliged to you for more than one unacknowledged Letter. I scarcely know what authority to give to Mr. B. & G. opinions concerning Peace—Without communication with those, who only could impart correct information concerning the Views of the Eng Govt., they could form no better opinion in England than in Russia—Neither of these Gentlemen, in the present situation of the two Countries, had any business in England. Had they felt

* "On Thursday, the 16th of June, the diary of Gouverneur Morris mentions a large party at Mr. Gracie's, where a plan was made for a federal celebration of the European peace settled; and on the 20th June Morris says "Mr. Coles and General Clarkson come to ask that I will pronounce an oration at a meeting to celebrate the restoration of the Bourbons. Promise."

"Go, between eleven and twelve (June 20th), to a church where, after a prayer from Dr. Mason, I pronounce an oration of triumph to celebrate the downfall of Bonaparte and the restoration of the Bourbons, with the consequent peace to Europe. This oration, tolerably well written, was, in part, well delivered. The audience were well satisfied. Dine with some of them afterwards at the Washington Hall; a number of tolerable toasts; Mr. King in the chair."—*Diary & Letters, II p. 565.*

upon this point as they ought, they wd. not have appeared in England, where they are liable on mere suspicion to be confined, or to be sent with ignominy out of the Country.

It is manifest that the democratic Party are disappointed, and confounded, by the overthrow of Bonaparte—they affect to be, and perhaps are, alarmed at the Politics of England, and assert that she will be indisposed to Peace with us.

I am of a different opinion, and still believe that we shall have Peace, provided that the Envoys are not limited in their powers —I mean Peace consistent with the just Rights of the Country.

I cannot desire peace on other terms,—We must not relinquish Territory (the Louisiana Boundary is an open question), we must not yield any maritime Rights appertaining to the Sovereignty ; we must therefore retain the Right to use the Ocean for Navigation and Fishery—The Coasts, Bays & Shores of other countries are their coasts, bays & shores, and like our own to us, subject to their Control.

The Ministers before this Date are met at Gottenburgh, or else where—a long time cannot be wanted to ascertain whether a Peace can be made—so that the Result will, in all probability be known here before October.

I think England as well as the Maritime Allies must desire Peace between America and England—the Market of the U. S. is of more value to England than that of all Europe. The Continent is impoverished and cannot pay for the supplies England could furnish—on the other side, tho' we have wasted our opportunity to grow more rich, we are still able to purchase and pay for the supplies the Country may require. Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Russia and perhaps others will want our ships and services in resuming their Trade, into which at least temporarily we should immediately enter, were we not involved in a foolish & unprofitable war. The President must now be convinced that he can gain nothing by prosecuting the war ; his tone may continue to be lofty, but his terms will lower. Not only can nothing be gained by prosecuting the war, but the present administration cannot go on with it if they would, because they have omitted to lay Taxes, and will be unable to make Loans. On this head, affairs are at the present moment highly critical, the Drain of Specie continues to exhaust the Bks here and to the south.

Smith, Cashier of one of the Baltimore Bks, Parish, Girard, & Astor lately made a provisional contract, to take 7 mil. of the remaining 15 of the 25 Mil. Loan.—the reduced Treasure of the Baltimore & Philadelphia Bks has discouraged them, and they have declined the Contract at 85 pCt.

Smith and a person with him from one of the Philadelphia Bks are at N. Yk; desiring to bring about a coalition of the NYk. Phil. & Balt. Bks in order, that by mutual succour they may mutually uphold each other. Fresh Drafts from your quarter are said to hang over the City—when brought forward, the City Bks will draw upon Philad. & Balt. and there is reason to fear that they may be compelled to follow the Example of the New Orleans Bank.

I have been conversed with upon the Subject of this Project.—My observation has been to this Effect.

That to the security of this association, the Business of all the Banks shd. be conducted by a common Rule or Principle, and moreover that previously to its adoption, the Condition of each Bank shd. be known to all.

The current of the removal of Specie has been from the western & middle States, to the eastern ones—whence it has gone out of the country, or is hoarded by Individuals. The Boston Bks are better off than those in this quarter, tho' not so much so as is believed: the discrimination in their favor has arisen from the contraction of their business, which has left the power over their vaults more entire.

The value of specie in Europe is such that a great profit is made by sending it out of the U. S. to that market; no restraint can effectually stop it. Besides there is great Reason to believe, that Br. Gov. Bills, to a great amount are sold among us, and paid for in specie, which finds its way to Halifax, Quebec and the West Indies.

Loans to our own Govt. by some of the Bks (whether made directly or indirectly is immaterial) throw large quantities of Bk notes into Circulation, which facilitate the means of Individuals to draw the Specie from the Bks.

The Result of this State of things cannot be mistaken—the specie before long will be so diminished, that the Bks will be unable to answer the Demands upon them by paying Specie—the

proposed association may defer a little, not long, the crisis,—but it cannot prevent it.

It has been suggested that the Bks in the Middle states shd. explain their situation to the Boston Bks. and obtain with them a credit, which shd. enable them to draw upon the Boston Banks to relieve themselves. To this project the objections are strong—even if the Boston Banks would redraw, like all the attempts to preserve credit by merely drawing & redrawing, the scheme would fail; and the amount of the Credit would be drawn in specie out of the Boston Banks—besides if the Boston Bks have curtailed their Business, and others have enlarged theirs, the proposed Credit wd. put them all on a footing.

Another plan has been suggested, viz, to extend the association or compact of mutual support, so as to include the Boston Banks. To this also all the objections which lie against the partial association are applicable.

The decisive objection is, that a few months continuance of the actual course of things will exhaust all the Bks, if united in common support, and compel them to refuse payment in specie—The Remedy adopted in England cannot be adopted here—so numerous are the Bks.—so much more numerous their Directors —so independent of each other, and so incapable & little worthy of Trust that, remove the limitation of specie Payments, and the Country will be flooded with Bank Notes or depreciated paper money.

Peace, and that speedily, is the sole Remedy; even that without a System of Taxes will not save. the Explosion of Credit—If the evils to be apprehended wd. fall upon our Bad Rulers, one would have less solicitude—but it will fall upon the Property, and Prosperity of the Country—and altho' in warding it off, we seem to be helping our miserable administration, we must still attempt to save the Credit of the Country—all losses from its failure must be borne by those who have Property—those who have nothing can lose nothing. R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., July 15, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

Since the date of my last letter I have been in town, and informed myself as well as I could upon the topics that I touched upon in my letter. Smith, the Baltimore Cashier, had gone out of town to Long Branch on the Jersey Shore, is expected to return in a day or two, and as I hear is to proceed to Boston—Smith is a federalist, was at Washington last winter—is reported to be skillful in money matters, has made money, and probably wd. like to make more.

I recommended to our N. Y. Bank to decline any association with the southern Bks, but as the Dealers of each, are also to a considerable extent dealers of all our Bks, they must mutually support each other, provided all will agree to use circumspection, and to do business upon a common Principle.

The Drain of Specie that is imperceptible, has the effect to lessen the cash at the Bks throughout the U. S. But the considerable Drafts (Drafts for large sums) which are occasionally presented on the part of your Bank, and particularly the New England Bank, excites alarm and dissatisfaction.

It is said that the New England Bk makes it a Business to collect the notes of our Bks (giving in lieu thereof their own, and perhaps some advantage as an Encouragement for the Exchange) in order to send them on here to be cashed. In ordinary times this wd. not be regarded; most likely would not be practised, in the difficult condition of the present times. It is I think very much to be regretted. It is not only a Business which excites odium among Political Parties, but one that creates meanness and Disapprobation among a very numerous class of Men, whose interest would be deeply affected by any serious Difficulty that shd. arise in our monied Companies.

As this collecting the Notes of other Banks either to curtail their Circulation, or in order to substitute the notes of the Bank making such Collections, is not among the ordinary Duties of a Bk, is not of a liberal character, and on the whole is a mode of making Profit, neither Customary nor altogether creditable, I cannot avoid expressing a wish that the Practice may be discontinued; since I am confident that the effect is contrary to their

Interests, the security of which, is without doubt of more consequence to the Gentlemen of the N. Engd. Bank, than the Profits derived from this extraordinary mode of business.

We hear or rather see articles in the Papers concerning an earlier meeting of Congress than we expected, perhaps the Pr. may convene us on the first of Oct.—tho' I doubt it and should reluctantly attend at that early and unhealthy Season. . . .*

R. K.

* Memorandum in R. King's Handwriting.

Messrs. Smiths, cashiers of the Baltimore and of one of the Philadelphia Banks had proposed in conversation at N. Y. (July 9, 1814) with Mr. Gracie and others an association between the N. Y., Phil. and Baltimore Bks to answer the Dfts. from Boston or elsewhere for specie : the subject was mentioned to me. My reflexions are :

That to the security of this association, the business of all the Bks should be conducted upon a common principle, and the state of the affairs of each should be known to all.

The demand for specie arises from its value in Europe. If British Bills of exchange to a considerable amount are sold here, and paid for in specie which will be removed from the country, the Bks will with difficulty support the drain. If loans to our own Gov. by some or all the Bks be made, whether directly or indirectly, is immaterial ; the power of individuals over the vaults of the Bks will be stronger than the associated Bks can meet. Their loans, whether to our own or to the British Gov. (for the purchase of Brit. Gov. Bills is in its nature a loan) operate disadvantageously upon the Banks by withdrawing the specie from their vaults ; the loans to Govt. throwing into circulation a surplus of Bk Notes, which facilitate the drawing of specie out of the Bks—the sale of British Gov. Bills having the like operation.

It is probable that the Eastern Banks are better off than those of the Middle States ; tho' perhaps not so much so, as has been supposed. This discrimination can arise from no other cause than that their Bks do little business, so that they retain the command over their specie. If the proposed association be so extended as to include the eastern Bks, its ability to ward off the apprehended drain of specie wd. certainly be increased. But the objections suggested agt. the association of the Bks of the Middle States would apply to this extension. Those who have been extremely cautious and limited in their loans, may be unwilling to make common cause with others who have dispensed with these restraints upon their business.

The same objection, with increased force, would exist against the project of eastern Bks giving to the other Bks a credit which would enable them to confirm draft demands upon these Vaults by drafts upon the eastern Bks, as the effect would be to empty the vaults of the eastern Bks to the amount of such credit.

The danger to the public and private credit of the country, so far as the same depend upon specie payments, is great ; and an explosion cannot for any length

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, July 28, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have hitherto omitted to reply to your two Favors of the 11th & 15th, because I had not been able to ascertain the Views & Practice of the Boston Bnks, in relation to the Subject of your Letters.

The New England Bank is the only Institution that collects & sends forward to New York the Paper of their Banks for Specie. The Directors set out with a Determination to collect money, for any one, in all Parts of the Continent, and to receive in Deposit the Paper of all Banks. This with the double View of obtaining some small Commission, and of inducing Custom to their Bank—By these Means they drew Custom from the other Institutions, & were enabled from this Circumstance, & their Commission as Brokers, to make a considerably larger Dividend, than any other Bank—This has exalted the value of their stock as well as their own Conceit of their superior Wisdom. Most of the Directors are industrious & shrewd men but of a very limited View.—Their great demand on New York Banks does not at present arise so much from their taking Bank Notes, as from taking Drafts on that City.—I rather believe from the Conversations I have had with them that their Practice is not without considerable Hazard to themselves, and is certainly not free from certain injury to their own, and the other Banks here, as it occasions a great Influx of the New York Paper, which in some measure supplies that Circulation which would otherwise be filled with their own Paper. It must be in a Degree advantageous to the distant Banks to have one here to receive their Paper & exchange it for that which circulates at Home, yet when these Directors send forward

of time be prevented, should the war continue. Peace alone can preserve the credit of the Bks.

Conference and concert among the Bks, including those of Boston, may be beneficial. Tho' from the independence of these conferences of each other, from the great number of persons concerned in their direction and other considerations, these conferences even, unless managed with great prudence, may prove mischievous.

How much to be regretted the dissolution of the Bank U. S. Had it been renewed and its capital doubled, great assistance might have been given to the credit of the Country—and the other Bks made much more secure.

a large sum & receive Specie, which is brought to Boston, it excites odium, & should a misfortune happen to any Bank of whom it is received, from any Cause, the Evil will be imputed to this Institution—Although several of the Gentlemen, with whom I have conversed assent to the justice of these Remarks and would be willing to refrain from the Practice, I much fear whether they will be able to do so until compelled, by the Diminution of their own Specie, to contract their own Business of every Kind.—The Mass'ts, Boston, & I believe the Union Banks, do not discount to the amount of their Capital; of course, They do not divide more than 4 or 5 per Ct.

The Specie is constantly going in Cart Loads to Canada, between which country & the Eastern States, especially this, there is an uninterrupted trade in Bills of the British Gov't—from two Banks in Boston there have departed 1,800,000 Dollars since the first of June. The State Bank sent its Specie, or a considerable Portion of it, to Worcester, to save it from British Invasion and has been obliged to borrow, from their Neighbours Specie to answer demands,—They were told the Week before last, that they must bring their own Specie back, for no future accommodation would be granted them—Should any application be made to these Banks, for a Coalition with those South of them, it will not succeed. Great Attempts have been made to obtain Credit here for the Subscribers to the last Loan. The Massts. Bank was formally applied to for a Loan of two hundred thousand Dollars in unquestionable Security; the answer was prompt, that if the Security was Satisfactory the amount could be had. The Pledge offered was any Quantity of the last Loan, and the Reply as prompt as the other, that they should not consider themselves secured for one thousand Dollars, by a Deposit of the whole Loan.

The whole of our Country on the seaboard is most dreadfully disturbed. In Newburyport the Rich have become poor, & those, who were in comfortable Circumstances, are Mendicants — There were formerly not more than 20 Persons, who used to receive Support from the Town, out of the Almshouse — The Number is now 244 — Most of them but a few years since good Livers. This was from one of the Overseers and is but a Sample of all the Towns on the Coast. The accounts from Eastport are, that

the British have taken that Island with the Intention of retaining it as within the Bounds of the English Territory as settled by the Treaty of Peace.

We are rejoiced to hear that Mrs. King has recruited. I think within a few days Mrs. Gore appears to be recovering, and I am not without hopes that she may be in good health before the time arrives for commencing our journey.

I have never had any fear of our being summoned at an earlier Day, than the first of October — This I have sometimes thought probable. Appearances indicate that we could not reside at Washington without Perturbation at the present. . . .

I remain as ever faithfully yours.

C. GORE.

BY THE OLIVIER, FRENCH CORVETTE SAILED 6TH JULY RECD. BY ENVOYS, 18. AUGT.

Yesterday Bayard and Gallatin's Letter was recd. from London. The conclusion of the Continental War has elevated the national feelings and pride. The prosecution of the Amer. War highly popular, and pretentions are made to restrain our commerce and fisheries, to curtail our boundaries, to exclude us from the Lakes and even to dismember the country.

Gallatin and Bayard however are of opinion, that Peace may be made "by foregoing, for the present, to assert our rights as respects a principal object of the war." Ministers however will in their opinion prefer the adoption of regulations of abuses to an entire omission of the subject in the Treaty.

From other intelligence, we learn that a great Force is coming agst. us from G. B.; and also that a large Spanish army is to proceed to Florida, Louisiana, or some of the Southern States. And moreover that a great concert exists between Sp. & G. B.

We have no evidence that Russia has interposed her good offices to prevent the prosecution of the war agst. the U. S. by G. Br.; altho' Russia is interested in all questions of neutral Rights.

The Vienna Gazette asserts (as the Eng. Gazettes declare) that an agreement has been made between England and the other allies, to which France is said to have acceded, that none of them

shall interfere in the war between her and the U. S. If so the experiment of another campaign will be made and the negotiation delayed on that account.

There are several papers containing the points of a speech, of which the date is not given, in favor of endeavoring to obtain peace. No continuous report is made, but there is a general arraignment of the administration for its neglect to prevent the declaration of the war, its failure to accept the offers of an armistice and of other means to bring it to a close, its prosecution of a system of foreign invasion instead of making preparation to meet the enemy on the ocean, where alone she was truly vulnerable, and the deranged financial condition. Mr. King claims that the right of opposition to such a course is inherent in every freeman. He says:

"The charge that opposition encourages the enemy and injures the cause, has at all times been made as an excuse for the failure and defeat of a weak administration. . . . If war suppresses opposition, the public liberties could not endure. Whether the present war was intended to put down opposition I do not know. This has, tho' I hope erroneously, been alleged. It should have been foreseen. Men are to be taken as they are, not as theorists say they should be. In this view whether the opposition is reasonable or not is immaterial, as the fact alone should have been considered. It should have been foreseen; not only so, but the rejection of the armistice would unite the enemy and confirm and increase the opposition. Neither the administration nor its supporters will doubt, what no one can do, that the friends of Peace, including the Federalists and not a few of their political opponents, have as much honor and integrity and as deep a stake in the preservation of the liberties and just rights of their country, as any other description of citizens, however arrogant may be their exclusive pretentions—and that in defence of these rights, on every proper occasion, none will be more profuse of blood or treasure than the men who, while they obey the laws, openly profess to have no confidence in the measures or the ability of the present weak and dangerous administration. . . .

"The prosecution of the war is to be continued, by creating

such a pressure upon the resources of the enemy as to compel him to subscribe to reasonable terms. It is difficult to discuss this topic with patience. Comparing the uninterrupted and prosperous condition of the commercial affairs of the enemy, his triumphs and his resources with the coerced and ruinous condition of our navigation and trade, with the result of our campaigns and accounts of the state of our armies, and with the impoverished and ill conconducted finances of our country, how extraordinary, how extravagant to talk of a pressure upon the resources of our enemy. Is it not the fact that the prosecution of the war, if conducted as heretofore, by the suspension of navigation and commerce, by the failures of the army and by the entire want of system in the finances, cannot operate a pressure upon the enemy, on the contrary must end in the disgrace of the country and the ruin of its prosperity?

"If you prosecute the war you must place at the head of the finances an able man. When before was this department at a crisis like the present abandoned to clerks, and merely nominal directors? You must abandon the project of free conquest, and preparing to defend your frontiers, cast your whole strength upon the ocean: here, if anywhere you will make your power felt. With twenty-five Ships of the line, a general blockade of your coast could not be made; with a hundred frigates and sloops of war you might materially affect the commerce of your enemy and afford great protection to your own navigation. This is the natural bias of your people; it will be to advance the high destiny of your country, destined to become the first maritime power.

"As but a single subject occasions your extension of the war, and as that is to become the subject of negotiation agreed to by both nations, I think it inexpedient to enter into any discussion upon that head. I cannot avoid, nevertheless, from the materials which are before the people to express my apprehension that the conclusion of their negotiation will neither redound to the security of our rights, nor to the honor of the country."

CHAPTER XXII.

King, Home Life—Battle of Lundy's Lane—King to Gore—Destruction of Washington—Advises the Governor of New York to call out the Militia and the Corporation to pledge Assistance to defend the City—Where will Congress meet?—Armstrong to King—Condition at Washington—King to Gore—Preparations against Attack in New York—Condition and Acts of the Banks—Specie Payments stopped—King to J. Mason—Cannot tell where Congress will meet—Public Credit has failed—Banks agree to be careful—Will go to Washington as soon as Congress meets—Effect of Changes in Europe upon Negotiations with Great Britain—King to Morris—Negotiation probably failed—Lord Hill's Expedition—King to Morris—Treasury Empty—Army could not defend the Cities—England's Conditions for Peace—Rulers cannot make War nor conclude Peace—King—Instructions to Commissioners at Ghent examined—English Demands ought not to be acceded to—King to Morris—Question of Removal from Washington—King—Course agreed to be pursued by the Federalists in Congress, 1814, 1815.

The return of Mr. King to public life changed to a very considerable degree the quiet and home routine to which he had been for so many years accustomed and which gave him so much occupation and pleasure. His house, which was always open to his friends and to his own family, had been enlarged so as to give him ample room for entertainment, and every arrangement known in that day ministered to the comfort of his country-life. His large and well-selected library, filled with books of every department of literature and history, was the family room, and at the same time the sanctuary where he drew in the stores of knowledge with which his mind was filled and where, in converse with the wise and learned of former days, and with those who were then on the world's stage, his hours passed with ever-re-

newed pleasure and profit. An active and vigorous constitution was maintained by exercise in fishing along the trout streams, and in shooting the various kinds of game which then abounded about his very home on Long Island. In these sports he had a worthy companion in one of his neighbors Mr. Cornelius I. Bogart. Both were good horsemen and enjoyed their rides through the country, dressed in the olden style—short breeches and long boots with broad leather tops.

The care of his farm, which he sought to keep in high cultivation, gave him variety in his daily life; his cattle were carefully bred and of the best kind, and everything about him indicated that his personal supervision was the secret of success. But where his love of nature was most clearly shown, was in the plantations of fruit and shade trees and shrubbery about the house. Native plants found a tender care and a fitting, congenial home among the many foreigners which adorned the grounds. Each year an almanac, with blank leaves, is marked with times of the flowering of plants, the return of seed-time and harvest, the coming back of birds to their homes, so carefully guarded, among the trees and shrubs—and indeed with every indication that he loved these minute but deeply interesting facts.

With the exception of short excursions, visits to the seashore, eight miles distant from his house, and not very frequent jaunts to New York, twelve miles from Jamaica, but where he met his friends and personally mingled among business men, he was satisfied with the enjoyment of the pleasure of a happy home, and most reluctantly left it to engage in the more active duties to which his senatorial life called him, amid the discomforts of a large village, which the City of Washington was at this time. It was always a great happiness to him to return to the quiet life and pleasant surroundings to which he had accustomed himself.

But as has been seen in the letters which have been and are to be given, the affairs of the Country,—troubled by an unnecessary, and with its embargoes and mercantile restric-

tions, ruinous war,—required most careful and prudent handling and absorbed the deep attention of all who could influence and possibly direct the issues. Mr. King, though representing those opposed to the administration of Mr. Madison, and in a minority in the Senate, entered earnestly upon the duties of his office, and sought to prevent the evil effects of much proposed legislation, and to bring back those sound principles in diplomacy and finance which he believed were best for the Country; and while deprecating the war, deemed it right to put in the hands of the executive the means of bringing it to a close with honor.

The Country had recently been cheered with the glorious achievements of the Army at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane,* and with the destruction of the British fleet on Lake Champlain by Macdonough; and the offer of Russian mediation with England opened a way to a peace which all longed for. Though this was rejected by Great Britain, it led to a proposition for a direct negotiation between the two States, which at this time was about to be entered upon, and upon the results of which great hopes were entertained. The administration had abandoned all the points for which the war was proclaimed, and Great Britain seemed willing to waive all questions which did not propose to abridge what she claimed as indefeasible rights.

* The Editor cannot refrain from recording here an interesting anecdote told to him by his father, John A. King, relative to the battle of Lundy's Lane. While he was in England in 1825–6, as Secretary of Legation to his father and afterwards as *Chargé d'affaires*, he frequently met the Marquess of Tweedale, who had been an aide to the Duke of Wellington in Spain, and was one of those who met the charge of the American soldiers at Lundy's Lane. He always spoke in high terms of the gallantry of those to whom he was there opposed and particularly of Col. Miller. He said he never could forget his voice and the solid step of the soldiers he commanded, as they ascended the hill. The night was dark, and the storming force could only be seen when the artillery was discharged; but the tramp of the steadily advancing men was distinctly heard, broken only by the sound of the guns, and after each discharge of these against the coming foe, the calm voice of Col. Miller called to his men: "Steady, boys, close up." Not another word was heard; there was no stop in the steady tramp, and the hill was taken.

In the meantime the financial condition at home was causing great anxiety and a want of confidence which interfered with the borrowing of money by the government, thus crippling all operations. The correspondence will show how this trouble was viewed and how it it was proposed to remedy it.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA L. I., Aug. 30, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

I have been with Mrs. King during the last week to the Sea side, where she has bathed for her health, but the disgraceful loss of the Capital and the agitation it has excited brought me to town; where the effect upon the Populace is such as might be expected. The Govr., who is there, the Genl. charged with our Protection, and the Comtee of Defence appointed by the Corporation, are alike alarmed and undecided.

My object was to induce the Gov. to call forth and bring to N. Y. 20,000 Militia, and as the U. S. have no funds, and have deserted our, as well as their own, protection, to stimulate the City Corporation to pledge themselves to provide the means of subsistence for these Troops. I am encouraged to hope that both will be done; in which case we shall not be attacked.*

* "The citizens of the City of New York, greatly alarmed for the safety of the city, organized themselves into military corps and volunteered to attend at regular hours for the purpose of drilling.

"Mr. Clinton as mayor, by his public addresses and by his influence with the city corporation, did much to keep alive a spirit of patriotism, and to aid the national government, with funds to sustain its sinking credit.

"Money was wanted. The banks would not loan their bills without better security than the stock or treasury orders of the United States. It was, however, understood that if treasury notes were deposited, endorsed by Gov. Tompkins, they would advance some four or five hundred dollars to be expended in erecting fortifications for the defence of the port of New York. Mr. Rufus King, on being informed of this, called upon the governor and stated to him that the time had arrived when it was the duty of every man to put his all at the requisition of the government, and that he himself was ready to do this. Mr. Tompkins replied, he should be obliged to act on his own responsibility, and should be ruined. 'Then,' said Mr. King, 'ruin yourself if it becomes necessary to save the Country, and I pledge you my honor that I will

Where Madison and his Ministers are, nobody knows, and but few enquire.

Whether the Enemy will be satisfied with the Eclat of the Destruction of W. or will attempt other Places on the Chesapeake, or come this way, I can form no satisfactory conjecture. I am inclined however to suppose that the Campaign will probably close in the Chesapeake.

From the Canada frontier we have no late News; Izard's Position is becoming critical, and I do not understand how the Army at Fort Erie are to effect with safety their Retreat: whether Madison will issue a new Proclamation founded upon the Destruction of the public Buildings at W. (which was contrary to the usage of modern war) and recommending to Congress to meet at Lancaster or elsewhere, we can only conjecture. I shall not be surprised if he suffers the Members to assemble at W. and adjourn to some other Place; this will save him from deciding; if he had any character he wd. convene Congress at Phila., but this he will be afraid to do.

I shall wait until the last, to hear what is likely to happen concerning the Residence of Congress, and will endeavour to inform you of my views. In the present alarm I feel unwilling to be absent when the session opens, and if I could contribute anything to bringing Cong. to Phila. I shd. be anxious to do it. If no Place be fixed upon by the Pr. I may decide to go on in the Stage, leaving Mrs. K. to follow at her leisure with one of her sons.

R. K.

If our Corporation issue these Bonds at 7 pc. payable half yearly, your Parkmans and others could not do better than to loan their money. The loan will probably be half a Mil.

The Corporation is not only rich, but probably the richest private corporation in the World.

support you in whatever you do.' These sentiments are the more honorable to Mr. King, when we consider that he was then the prominent leader of the opponents to Mr. Madison.

"Gov. Tompkins endorsed the notes and the money was advanced by the bank."—Hammond, *Polit. Hist. of N. Y.*, ii., p. 378.

J. ARMSTRONG TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of the 20th inst. has been received. From our negociators or either of them, we have nothing later than the 2nd of June. I think with you that the result of the negociation will not be known here till October. The finances present a subject of most urgent character, but which will probably be made to give place to one growing out of the late disaster of the Capitol.*

You will best determine, how far this should affect your movements, under the family circumstances you mention. We are busy, or rather bustling to make head against a new attack from some frigates which have ascended the Potomack and put Alexandria under contribution.

Yr. respectfully & truly

J. ARMSTRONG.

In consequence of the financial embarrassments the Southern banks had been obliged to suspend specie payments. A meeting of the merchants of New York was held on August 25th to consider what the banks should do, and a committee was appointed to report upon the subject. In the meantime the Philadelphia and New York banks suspended the payment of specie, and on September 1st, the committee above-mentioned reported to a meeting, presided over by Genl. Ebenezer Stevens, resolutions sustaining the New York banks in taking this course.

The New York *Evening Post* of September 2d, says:

"After the resolutions were read and previous to their adoption, the Hon. Mr. King rose and addressed the Chairman in a short, but very eloquent and impressive speech on the subject before the meeting. He stated that, in such a time of peril and danger as the present, it was the duty of all well disposed citizens to join in the defense of each other and of the country; that he was satisfied, after examination, of the stability of our banking institutions, and that the directors would confine the issue of paper

* Aug. 25th.

within safe limits; that they had been driven to adopt the measure they had taken on account of the distress of the times and that therefore it was our duty to support them. He said this was not a time for recrimination and division among ourselves, nor was this a fit occasion to discuss the causes of our present troubles. We are in a critical situation, and it is therefore our duty to get out of it the best way we can. The enemy is at our doors and it is now useless to enquire how he came there: he must be driven away and every man join hand and heart, and place shoulder to shoulder to meet him.

"We cannot pretend to give Mr. King's own words, nor to do justice to a speech in a sketch; but the above is the substance of it as near as can be collected. It was received with shouts of applause. The sentiments were unanimously approved and the resolutions were passed without a dissenting voice."

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Sept. 2, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I wrote to you a few days past—since then I have no further information respecting the place of our next meeting—it is very extraordinary that we receive nothing from Govt. by wh. we may know they have not abdicated, and thrown up their charge. In effect, so far as regards the common defence, this abandonment actually exists; and for some days past I have been busy in the City to raise up the means of protecting ourselves, in default of the interposition of those who ought to provide for our safety. We shall immediately assemble in and abt. the City 20,000 militia—the corporation supply a million for subsistence—and by this array of means, my best hopes are that the enemy may be discouraged to come, in case our City has been among the objects of attack. . . . Yesterday I was in town to assist on the occasion of the Stoppage of the Specie Payments of the Bks.—I found everybody well inclined to adopt any measures, which those in whose knowledge or prudence they had confidence, recommended —the Bks have by Concert resolved to limit the amount of their Discounts, or in other words their Debts, to a sum, that I am inclined to believe will entitle their notes to nearly, if not quite,

the same Credit, as if they were exchangeable for Specie—In confidence, and on the presumption that this Contract will be faithfully observed, the merchants and others met for the purpose, approved of what all regret, and unanimously resolved to support the credit and assist the Circulation of the Notes of our City Bks.

I presume that yr Bks will be obliged to follow this example—the same alarm will prevail at Boston as has appeared at N. Y.—after a constant drain of Specie during the war to satisfy the Bal. of our for. Trade, no Bank can stand the Effect of that Distrust which the fear of Invasion is sure to create. . . .

Farewell I am faithfully yr. ob. Sr.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO JEREMIAH MASON.

JAMAICA, L. I., Sept. 2, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

Hitherto we hear not a syllable from the Government; where they are, or what they are about nobody knows, and few enquire. So far as regards the common defence, the Genl. Govt. has deserted its duties. Without money, without soldiers & without courage, the President and his Cabinet are the objects of very general execration. Where Congress will meet next no one knows, some believe that the President will recommend Lancaster, more that he will do nothing: Philadelphia should be the place, but lest its accommodation should prove too agreeable, and *so* operate against the rebuilding of Washington, it is likely that a majority will be found in favor of some inconvenient temporary residence.

What we feared has come to pass; the Public credit has failed. The Banks in this quarter are obliged to stop the payment of specie and I presume the same causes will have the same effect at Boston and with you.

In New York the Banks, I mean those of the city, have unanimously agreed to limit their Buisness, so that the aggregate of their debts shall not exceed a certain amount. Specie payment is the ordinary convenient & Salutary Restraint upon the issue of Bank Credits; this check being no longer practicable, the next attempt nearly equal security may be found in retaining the issue

of the Banks within certain ascertained, and proportionate limits. A measure to this Effect, the observance of which is to be subject to constant inspection, has been communicated to the body of merchants, who have in consequence thereof engaged to support the credit & circulation of Bank notes.

The Destruction of the Capitol has alarmed our city.—At length we have the expectation of the assembling in and about it of 20,000 Militia ; the city advances a million by way of subsistence and I am in hopes that this array of means will discourage the enemy from making any attempt upon us.

We have no tidings from the Envoys, nor have I better means, than when we separated, to predict the issue of their Mission. I had wished to delay my attendance until the first week in Oct., but from the late disaster which I am fearful will not be the last, I am now thinking of going on in season to be present when Congress meets. Should this be the case I hope you will not be absent.

Very faithfully Yr. ob. Servant

RUFUS KING.

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* Without knowing the views and instructions of either the American or British Cabinet, no inference concerning the Result of the negotiation at Gottenburgh, can be made except it be drawn from general considerations, and from an acquaintance with the interest and advantage of both to be derived from Peace.

It is not extraordinary that men should be doubtful of the effects of the late wonderful change that has taken place in Europe. These events have been so sudden, and to the mass of our countrymen so wholly unexpected. They are so entirely the reverse of all the calculations of our Cabinet and their numerous friends, that the shock has not been more unexpected, than its effects have been embarrassing.

As the presumed basis of the policy which has involved the Country in War, is not to be discovered in the able and correct estimate of the interest of the Nation, we may presume that the Cabinet will find little difficulty in changing its measures, seeing the foreign state of things, upon the continuance whereof they relied, has undergone so total a change. The War having been

* In R. King's handwriting.

declared in the belief that Bonaparte would conquer Russia, establish his Continental System and in the end dictate a dishonorable and insecure Peace to England, and these events having failed, it must be the earnest desire of Mr. M. and his Cabinet to withdraw from the War as soon as possible. This is a topic upon which we are unwilling to enlarge : but we cannot avoid calling the public attention to the dangerous folly of the political course adopted by our Rulers. The Washington policy, rightly estimating the character of the War and anticipating its termination, firmly adopted the system of neutrality as the only safe and honest one that could be pursued by America. Whether the Washington Cabinet ever threw the question open so as, without the restraint of duty, to examine what would be most advantageous, what course would best conduce to the interest and power of America, is a point on which we have no particular information. Had they done so, we cannot preserve our respect for their sagacity and at the same time believe their decision would have been that which our present Cabinet adopted.

In the European Convulsion it was manifest that England and France would in all its stages be found on opposite sides. If the war was to be prosecuted to the destruction of one or the other, Nations who could lay aside the merits of the struggle and look only to the question how its interests would be affected by the ruin of Eng. or of France, might have formed different decisions. Their circumstances and local situation would naturally influence this decision. But can any intelligent American now, or could he at any stage of the war, hesitate which, if we were to take a part, it would have been our interest to join. If England prevailed, it is certain that France could afford us no aid or resources against the Conqueror. Her situation on the other side of the Ocean, the dominion which the Fleets of England in this event possessed, preclude any help from that quarter, if France be even disposed to bestow it.

But if France prevailed, if she had overthrown and conquered England in the struggle, the fleets of Great Britain she could not have overcome. These with her seamen, a large portion of the wealth, of the arts, of the artificers, of England would have come hither and here the struggle might have been renewed with the highest prospect of success.

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

Enclosed I send you the President's message of yesterday, communicating the late Dispatches from Ghent. It would appear from the Dispatch of the 19th of Augt. that the negotiation has failed. Some persons, however, entertain an expectation that a Treaty with a provisional arrangement respecting an Indian Boundary, may have been concluded.

If Lord Hill's Expedition should be directed to Louisiana, there will be little opposition to the occupation of the new State of Mississippi. Some apprehend that this Expedition is intended agt. New York, or to take Possession of Rhode Island —According to such accounts as I have seen, it is not sufficiently strong to take and retain during the winter either of those places. I enclose under another cover the National Intelligencer, containing a marvellous Project for the supplies of the next year!

On this subject, indeed upon all others connected with the administration of the present men, one scorns to express what the pub. so generally feel. Crawford writes from Paris that Eng. influence pervades all the States of Europe; that none are disposed to listen to our Representatives agt. England, and that not a finger will any where be raised in our favor.

With Sincere Respect & attachment I am, dear Sir,

Yr. faithful Ser. RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 13, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

The Conferences at Ghent are probably at an end, and the expectation of immediate peace given up. No plan for prosecuting the war, none for the restoration of the Pub. Credit are thought of or proposed. Congress must feel the difficulties of our situation, proceeding from the general want of confidence in the Administration. But the excitement expected from the Publication of the Dispatches, it is believed will authorize the President and his miserable assistants, to call upon the Nation for their blood & money, reserving to themselves the exclusive direction of the expenditure of both.

You have seen in the News Papers the Report of the Committee of Ways & Means ; indeed I sent you a copy of it—but the Treasury is empty and owing to the deranged condition of the Banks, the trifling aid obtained can be applied to the public service only in the particular Districts, within which their respective notes have a circulation. Various estimates are made of the force coming out under Lord Hill ; conjectures likewise vary respecting the object of this Expedition. If the army does not exceed 14,000 men, it is said, it will be unable to occupy, with the expectation of retaining the same during the war, either Rhode Island or the City of New York and Long Island, or any other position upon the Maritime frontier of the Middle States ; but that it will enable the enemy to seize and retain the possession of New Orleans & the contiguous Country.

The last Note from the Br. Commissioners at Ghent intimates an expectation of such acquisition in the progress of the war, as could authorize an extension of British Demands at the conclusion of Peace.—Taking into view the Dissatisfaction of Spain, the Demand of an Indian Barrier in the north, the exterminating war prosecuted against the Indians of the South (the whole Choctaw Nation which has been hitherto at Peace is said to be now in motion to destroy the remnant of the Creeks, who have taken refuge in Florida) no acquisition would seem to be more important for such purpose than the new State at the mouth of the Mississippi. By the treaty of Grenville, concluded with the Indians in 1795, the whole of the country, with a few and inconsiderable exceptions, north of the Ohio and west of an irregular line from the River Cuyahoga falling into Lake Erie, to the confluence of the Kentucky & Ohio was reserved to the Indians. Subsequent Treaties with the Indians have ceded considerable Portions of this region to the U. S., and two territorial Governments are established within it, viz the Michigan & the Indiana.

The enemy now demand that the whole of this Region should constitute an Indian Reservation or Barrier, between their & our Territories. Should a like Demand be hereafter made in favor of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws and Missouri Indians, including the two territorial Governments of the Mississippi and Missouri, it would in Effect deprive Congress of the power of

admitting new States, since these Territories alone remained out of which to form them ! ! !

In a word, the Condition of the Country is dangerous, and every Day becomes more so—the administration possess neither the Confidence of their own nation, nor that of any other. Even Mr. Madison lately complained that the Ears of every Court in Europe were closed against us ; such, as he says, have been the intrigues and misrepresentations of England, that no power will raise a finger in our favor ; indeed, and strange to tell, adds the President, they have succeeded in causing a general belief that the U. S. entered into this war to assist France !

Our rulers can neither make war, nor conclude Peace. What are the minority to do ? The Country is invaded ; it is threatened with waste and Destruction—must we not unite to defend it, must we not join in granting supplies ; ought we not to hold a language firm & which cannot be misunderstood concerning the Rights and honor of the Nation ? And ought we not to tell them, after doing all this, that it is our solemn conviction that the present administration is incapable of carrying on the war, or of bringing it to a safe or honorable conclusion. How is this to be done, by mere speeches, or by a more authentic and solemn address. How often do I regret that you are not here, and that the Country remains deprived of your Talents and great Experience.

very faithfully yrs

R. K.

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*Commissioners at Ghent.**

According to the Instructions given to the Commissioners at Ghent, † they are instructed to accept Peace upon the state of things before the war, including maritime equally with territorial rights. In other words every object for which the War is said to have been declared is abandoned. Compensation for alleged wrongs under the Orders in Council, the establishment of new limitations in the maritime Code of Nations, the security against

* In R. King's handwriting.

† *Annals of Congress*, 1814–15, p. 1310 *et seq.* These instructions were sent by the President to the Senate, October 10 and 14, 1814, and referred to a select committee, of which Mr. King was one—Mr. Bibb, chairman.

visit and search upon the Ocean for the purpose of impressment, each and all are given up. They are set forth in the Declaration of War as the causes thereof. A Treaty of Peace is solicited in which they will be explicitly or tacitly renounced. By the Law of Nations a Treaty of Peace is an extinguishment of the causes for which the war was made. It is in this sense that the Peace is declared to be perpetual. Not that for other and new causes, War shall not be made ; but that no future war shall be made for the same cause.

On account of Orders in Council, impressment of British Subjects out of American Vessels, or for any other reason assigned for the present war, our Envoys are authorized to sign a perpetual release and Treaty of Peace and oblivion.

But notwithstanding the entire failure and abandonment of the professed objects of the War, (its real object failed at the Capitulation of Paris and the dethronement of Bonaparte) the Enemy may finally refuse to give us Peace, unless those, who have humiliated themselves by renouncing all their lofty claims, consent to humiliate their country by consenting to terms which must weaken and disgrace the nation.

The privilege of fishing within the territorial jurisdiction of G. B. and of drying and curing fish upon their uninhabited Shores, is of little advantage to us. The renewal of this privilege would be of no disadvantage to G. B. Its refusal discloses a temper unworthy of a nation. We may acquiesce in this denial without much inconvenience and without any dishonor.

The course of human affairs is in no way affected by a pettish diplomacy of a nation, alike capable of a wise foresight and an enlightened policy. The Coast of Labrador and the Shores of the Gulph of the St. Lawrence are in the neighbourhood of the U. S., whose consistency and growth can leave none to doubt, that at no distant period, the dominion of G. B. upon the American Continent must cease when others may deny to her what she now illiberally refuses to them.

The demand of a cession of territory in the District of Maine is altogether different in its importance from that of the refusal of the Fishery upon the Coasts. So long as Maine, according to its present boundary, belongs to the U. S., and especially so long as the N. E. angle of it remains unsettled, a passage between

Quebec and the Province of Nova Scotia & New Brunswick will be impossible. Troops and supplies can be moved from one to the other only by the long and dangerous, and for half the year impracticable, passage by sea.

Cede the required portion of Maine, and a direct military road will immediately be opened between them ; which at all seasons may be safely and conveniently used to march troops and transport military supplies from one to the other. Halifax may be at any time reinforced from the W. Indies ; these troops may be speedily marched by this route to Quebec, and the forces in both may with ease and expedition be united in either.

The Islands of Passamaquoddy Bay are of small importance, except that should Moore Island be retained by G. B., it may give colour to the refusal of a passage north of Moore and Campobello Islands to the Bay of Fundy. As mere territory, Moore Island is not an object worth disputing on either side ; but there being no safe passage for ships between the Continent and Moore and Campobello Islands, its annexation is on this account of consequence.

That the U. S. should neither maintain a naval force upon the Lakes, nor keep up military fortresses upon the shores thereof, while G. B. shall be at liberty to do both, is a demand, the mere statement whereof insures its rejection. The want of reciprocity in the arrangement would make its acceptance dishonorable. That neither party should maintain a naval force, or only an equal and regulated force, might be acceded to ; perhaps good policy recommends this arrangement ; but neither can consent, certainly the U. S. cannot do so with safety, that the Fortresses on the Borders of the Lakes shall be dismantled, and none kept up. Without considering the subject on the side of the enemy we must recollect that the progress of settlement, from its beginning in Mass. and Virginia, has been protected by Blockhouses, Fortresses and Garrisons. The frontier inhabitants are scattered over a great extent of country and rely for protection and refuge against Indian incursions upon these Garrisons. If the enemy maintains Fortresses on their side, and if they moreover possess the naval dominion of the Lakes, they will be considered by the Indians as the only formidable power near them. With them will be the chief intercourse and trade of the Indians, who may be

readily excited to fall upon and to destroy the frontier settlements of the U. S.; Indian wars, and if G. B. and the Indians are to remain allies, future wars between the U. S. and G. B. would be speedily kindled by this unequal, unsafe and degrading stipulation.

The arrangement would be moreover ruinous to the revenue of the U. S. Having neither garrisons upon the shores, nor naval power upon the Lakes to guard and enforce the revenue laws, they would be violated with impunity and thro' Canada Br. goods to any amount would be brought into the U. S., in contravention of these Laws, the Fortresses and armed vessels serving as the channel and the security of this illicit trade.

R. K. to G. Morris.

Washington, Oct. 14, 1814.

Dear Sir:

I have been confined by a cold and fever for some days; to-day I am doing better. Yesterday I wrote you a hasty letter which I have not, even now, health to revise. I therefore send it you in the rough. The subject of Removal will I hear be called up again on Monday. Whether an adjournment to Philadelphia will take place is uncertain. A majority is believed to exist in favor of removal, but they are not united in the Place. Unless we go to Philadelphia, we might as well remain where we are.

Very truly yr. ob. sert.

R. K.

(The following paper is endorsed by R. K. as follows:)

October, 1814.

Early in this month, the Federalists of the two Houses of Congress met at Crawford's to consider of the course which they ought to pursue during the Session. Mr. Gore was called to the chair. The conversation was very general. A committee consisting of Mr. Gore, Mr. King, and Mr. Dagget of the Senate, Stockton, Pickering, Pearson and Oakley of the House were appointed to consider the subject and make a Report. The enclosed paper was agreed to by the Committee, and circulated among the Federalists, and formed the basis of their Proceedings and votes during the important session.

Altho' the Declaration of war was unnecessary and highly inexpedient, the manner in which it has been prosecuted by the enemy, and the avowed purpose of waste and destruction that he proclaims have so changed the character of the war, that it has become the duty of all to unite in the adoption of vigorous measures to repel the invaders of the country and to protect its essential rights and honor.

Congress should therefore grant supplies of both men and money, provided the same be done pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution, and according to an impartial estimate of the relative ability of the several States. In respect to the Army, no scheme of conscription for the purpose of raising it, can be approved. Concerning the Navy, a steady policy in favor of its gradual increase must be pursued, and numerous vessels, not exceeding the size of sloops of war, should be equipped to cruize against the Enemy.

As political power and direct taxes are apportioned by the Constitution among the several States, by the same ratio, although in ordinary and peaceable times the latter has not been exacted in compensation for the former, the extraordinary demands of war require, and will justify, a free recourse to this constitutional supply of the Treasury ; more especially as commerce, heretofore the only and abundant source of revenue, has by the folly of our Rulers, and the power of the Enemy been entirely destroyed. Hence the expediency, that a large portion of the supplies should be now obtained by a direct Tax, to be apportioned among the States, according to the Constitution.

Of indirect taxes, that upon the distillery of ardent spirits should be increased, and beyond the rate which is recommended by the Committee of Ways and Means. The Stamp Duty may also be extended, and other articles recommended by the Committee may be adopted as objects of Taxation. Some of these, such as furniture, leather in the extent proposed, and the products of the infant manufactures should be exempted.

On account of the unequal operation of the taxes in the several States, it is not expected that gentlemen will be unanimous in the choice of the various objects of Taxes. It is only in the general Principle, that supplies ought to be granted for the defence of the essential rights of the nation, that such unanimity is hoped for.

The Federalists have at all times been ready and at every hazard to defend, and will be the last to consent to give up, the rights of Soil and Sovereignty belonging to the Nation. They will therefore concur in the grant of supplies upon equal and constitutional principles, whereby these rights may under wiser counsels and with the aid of divine Providence, be vindicated and preserved.

But witnesses, as they have been, of the incapacity of the Executive Government, invariably manifested at home and abroad, whereby the public credit is deeply impaired, and the objects of the war, as well as of negotiation, have been alike abandoned ; they cannot entertain any reasonable expectation, whatever be the further means entrusted to these men, that the same will be so used, that the public confidence will be reunited and the public credit restored, or that Peace will be concluded on terms of safety and of honor. Nothing short of an entire change of the Heads of Departments will be likely to attain these important objects.

CHAPTER XXIII.

C. King to R. King—Proposed Changes in military Arrangement in New York—J. Taylor to R. King—In Favor of National Banks—Morris to King—Recommends a Refusal of Supplies of all Sorts—Does not Believe the Enemy will attack New York—Believes the Chesapeake will be Centre of Operations—King to Morris—Commissioners authorized to make Peace upon Status ante-Bellum—Govr. Tompkins to relieve Gen. Lewis—King to Morris—Monroe proposes to fill the Army by Conscription—Van Rensselaer to King—Character of the War changed—Distrusts the proposed Hartford Convention—C. King to King—Proposes entering a new Regiment of U. S. Army—Morris to King—Probable Basis of Negotiation—Plan of Finance—Jay advises support to the Government when right—King—Speech on 3-million Loan—Administration's Treatment of eastern Men—C. Wilkes to King—Objections to a national Bank—Wilkes to King—Resumes the Subject.

Chas. King to R. King.

Camp at Stuyvesants, Oct. 15, 1814.

Dear Sir:

. . . There is great reason to fear that Genl. Lewis has it in contemplation, to transfer from our corps of infantry into his more favored corps of artillery and uniformed volunteers, all such, as owing to the stricter discipline and more exact subordination observed in the infantry corps, or from any other cause, may wish such transfers. The effect of this in the first instance will be so to reduce the infantry battalions as to render a reconsolidation necessary & a consequential reduction in the number of officers: by which measure a number of meritorious and aspiring young men, who have with great zeal and success labored hitherto in the discipline of their companies will be cut adrift at the moment when they began to derive credit and satisfaction from their efforts. The next and more serious effect will be, to produce

such a jealousy between these corps, as to render hopeless any prospect of union in their endeavors when required: beside which the *esprit de corps*, without which no officer or man ever was good for anything will be so entirely destroyed, by a step so degrading as the one contemplated to the infantry, that the few officers who will consent to remain in the service upon such terms, will lose all pride, and with it, in my opinion, all usefulness.

Without however going any farther into detail on the subject, I must refer you at once to Mr. Wm. Irving for full information on it; and if he and every other person from this city, who has an opportunity of judging, does not say that the infantry corps (particularly Mapes' brigade) are more efficient, better disciplined and better officered bodies than Genl. Morton's artillery, I will consent that you should take no steps in the request which I now proceed to make, and which is that you will, if you can with propriety, ask Mr. Monroe to direct Genl. Lewis to abstain from all such transfers.* Genl. Mapes at my request wrote some time since to Mr. Monroe on this subject, & he has, I believe, been spoken to by others and been made acquainted in some measure with our "griefs," for such I consider them. Your voice will I think be not lost, if raised in our behalf: that you will not, on enquiry into these circumstances, find it improper so to raise it, I sincerely think.

We are all well in health; but Mr. Gracie's mind is not at all at ease. I should extremely like to hear your opinion of the chance of peace. If there were a reasonable hope, I would not hesitate to do what I think Mr. Gracie wishes me to do, and go back to Europe; but if war is to continue, I should be most unwilling to leave home.† With love to Mama yours ever

CHAS. KING.

*General Lewis was removed from the command, as the following shows: "Governor Tompkins, with Adjutant General Solomon Van Rensselaer his aide, arrived in the steamboat from Albany to take command of the United States and State troops in this district (New York City) in place of Genl. Lewis."—*Ev'g Post*, Oct. 20.

†An opportunity is afforded by this letter to state, that the sons of Mr. King, though they adopted his views in relation to the declaration of the war, did not hesitate to follow the example he had set them, to give their personal services to promote its successful issue, and especially for the defence of New York. John A. King was a Lieutenant of a cavalry company, Charles King

JOHN TAYLOR (Lieut Gov) TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Oct. 17, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

I received under cover from you the Message from the President with the accompanying Documents from our Ministers at Ghent. The propositions on the part of the British are in my opinion inadmissible; and I am happy to learn that this sentiment pervades every class of our citizens. Our next object will be to prosecute the war to an honorable termination. To effect this, the means will be required, and how to obtain them is the important desideratum. The manner in which the last loan was taken up did not add much to the credit of the nation. To censure is easier than to remedy; I will therefore make no observations on that subject; but will hazard an opinion, which if not approved by you, will, I am convinced, be imputed to no improper motive. I could wish that a National Bank was instituted. Indeed, I always doubted the propriety of suppressing the former one: but will a Bank afford the required relief? I presume that it may in time afford some aid, but cannot answer the end. Exchequer Bills bearing an interest from experience will be in a great measure ineffectual, as the community requires a circulating medium. Will it not therefore be of more general use to issue paper of small as well as large denominations declaring it to be a lawful tender, and receivable in all payments to the United States, at the same time pledging a certain specific fund for its redemption, say *land*, redeemable in six years. The country, at least this part of it, approve of this mode. The interest saved by this medium will be a considerable fund for its redemption. The Taxes will create a demand for this paper, and the Banks who now refuse paying Specie for their Bills, will be relieved from the embarrassments they may experience by having this paper in their possession. I have hazarded my opinion; at the same time, I feel confident that this subject is intrusted to persons, who from a full view of the whole ground, will be more capable of

was a captain in a volunteer regiment, and James Gore King was selected as an Assistant Adjutant General by Genl. Ebenezer Stevens, who commanded the militia of the city, under the United States general officer. They all continued in the service, except Charles, who was obliged to go to England on the business of his mercantile house, until the conclusion of the war in 1815.—Ed.

deciding than I can possibly be. We have passed in the Senate a Bill directing the raising of 12000 men; and a Bill incorporating any number of persons not less than five to carry on privateering is become a Law. I believe we shall adjourn Saturday next. Yours most respectfully

JOHN TAYLOR.

G. MORRIS TO R. KING.

MORRISANIA, Oct. 18, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR:

I receive this Moment your favors of the 13th and 14th. The Condition of the Finances was and is remediable, but will soon be desperate. The Plan of the Committee of Ways and Means is, in my opinion, inefficient. It would be impertinent to assign Reasons for that opinion to you.

I wrote yesterday to Wells and Pickering, who will no Doubt communicate my Letters. In Reply to your Question, what is to be done, I answer decidedly, and without the Slightest Hesitation, *refuse Supplies of every Sort.* Should the Grand Signior ask for Men and Money to invade Persia, you would tell him *we want both to defend ourselves.* Tell Mr. Madison the same thing, and let him shew what Interest we have in the Conquest of Persia or Canada.

There is, thank God, good Sense in Massachusetts. Should the Rest of New England join her, I shall have Hopes of my Country.

In answer to your Question, I feel myself bound in Duty and Honor to declare that any thing like a Pledge by Federalists to carry on this wicked War, strikes a Dagger to my Heart. Whoever shall utter a word of that Sort will repent it. The Passions of honest men are played on by Contrivers who laugh at their Credulity. How often, in the name of God, how often will you agree to be cheated? What are you to gain by giving Mr Madison Men and Money? Has he not told you distinctly that he will not defend you? How are you to defend yourselves when you have parted with the Means? If you go on at this present Rate you will, in six months, be incapable of Exertion, for you wage war at an Expence which no Nation can bear. Patriotism is one thing, but Food is another, and tho' Patriotism may turn

out Soldiers it cannot buy Bread. As to any Protestations you may make after giving Men and Money, they are mere Wind, and put them in what Form you may, they will make no more Impression than mere Wind. If you withhold Supplies your opponents will call you Enemies of your Country ; And what of that ? These also are mere words. Hard words if you please, but they break no Bones. Withhold Supplies and they hate, but grant Supplies and they despise you.

I have never believed that the Enemy intended to attack New York. If he should he will, I think, carry it and covering his Flanks with his Ships, the Fortifications you have raised and which he may avoid, will serve him much better than they can serve you. But cui bono ? What will they gain by it ? Or cui damno ? what shall we lose by it ? The Expedition, unless connected with a strong Party in the Eastern States, would be if successful useless, if unsuccessful pernicious to them. In all Events, of little Consequence to us and therefore a Piece of Folly on their Part.

I have always supposed that their main Effort would be in the Chesapeake and not seriously commenced until the sickly Season is over. The Conquest of Louisiana, which will doubtless form a Part of their Plan, cannot require so great a Force as that under Lord Hill. Moreover an Invasion of Virginia will operate effectually on the Fate of Louisiana. An Army of twenty thousand Men landed at Annapolis will march without serious Impediment to the Point of Florida and oblige the Country to Maintain them

Yours truly,

GOUV. MORRIS

P. S. yours of the 11th just received as I am making this up.

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, OCT. 19, 1814.

DEAR SIR :

A day or two since I sent to you a copy of the instructions given to the Commissioners authorized to treat with England ; as several material portions of these Instructions were communicated to Congress in Confidence, and are therefore not published, you have but an imperfect view of the Pretensions and Expectations

of our Cabinet, enough however is before you, to shew that every object for which the war was professed to have been made, is given up ; and that the Commissioners were authorized to conclude a Peace, upon the "Status ante Bellum," including maritime as well as territorial Rights.

I understand that the war men are dissatisfied, and that this Disclosure has not had the effect of satisfying them. Herewith I send you a copy of our new Secretary's Report upon the Finances ; as well as upon the expediency of creating a Bank.

I also understand, in consequence of applications on the Part of the City, that Genl. Lewis is removed from his command ; and that Govr. Tompkins has been requested to repair immediately to the City to command the Forces. It will be quite in character, if the respective Governors of the Eastern States be called upon to take measures to defend their Territory and repel the Invader, with assurances that the expenses shall be defrayed by the U. S.

Very faithfully yr. ob Sert.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 21, 1814.

DEAR SIR :

I send you a report respecting the Taxes wh. we have recd. this morning.

We have nothing extraordinary to communicate—a late News Paper from New Orleans speaks of recent intelligence recd. from Mexico ; according to which, the Rejection of the Spanh. Constitution by Ferdinand has produced the highest Dissatisfaction in Mexico ; where a disposition to cast off the Dominion of the mother Country, extensively manifests itself.

Monroe proposes to fill the regular army to 62 thousand, by conscription, and further now to raise 40 thousand local troops for the defence of the several States.

I hear that the military Comrs. are somewhat intractable and that poor Monroe is at the end of his poor Resources.

Yrs &c.

R KING

S. Van Rensselaer to R. King.

Albany, Oct. 25, 1814.

Dear Sir:

I had the pleasure of rec'g your letter & the documents—the demands of G. Britain evince a disposition to continue the Contest. I can not persuade myself yet, that they are serious. I concur in sentiment & I am glad of your sanction that the character of the war is changed and that our Soil & Sovereignty must be defended, notwithstanding the incompetency of our Rulers. Our Legislature have passed a Conscription Law, 12000 Infantry 2000 St. fencibles & 2000 Negroes—the Genl. goes this morning to take the command: he is Lt. General his friends say. Your taxes & our Militia I think will work a change, or an insurrection. Judge Benson is here, begs to be remembered; he says he has half a mind to go to New England to get them right; he fears they will at their Convention not take the federal course. I think their game will be a difficult one & what their object is I cannot divine.

With great regard &.

Your friend

S V Rensselaer

Chas. King to R. King.

New York, Oct. 31, 1814.

Dear Sir:

The change of command in this district has taken place and General Lewis has gone to Washington for the purpose, I suppose, of resigning his commission and settling his old accounts. He is very sore at being displaced. You will have seen in the papers probably the high character Mapes' brigade has obtained. Lewis said rather too much in his general order on the subject; yet not a word that was not true. It is undoubtedly the best militia brigade in this State and probably any other. I have just given up my command to Col. Rensselaer, who has returned. I have gained some information and some credit by this tour of camp duty. If the war is to last, of which I think there are strong appearances, I feel much disposed to go into the army, and of course, of preference, into the United States Army. I observe

the Secretary at war contemplates an additional force of *40,000* men; and one of these regiments, I should like very well to command. I should not willingly take an inferior commission. What do you think of the project? The force of *12,000* men voted by this State depends as to its being raised, upon the voice of Congress, as to whether they will receive and keep them in pay—to which, as the force is to be officered and organized by the State authority, I presume there will be strong objections. . . .

Of Lord Hill and his myrmidons we hear nothing—and I trust shall see nothing: for brave and skillful as we presume ourselves, *12,000* men under his command would possess themselves undoubtedly of this City. . . .

I am, Dear Sir, CHAS. KING.

Endorsed by R. K.:

Ansd. Nov. 6—that until the plan to raise the new military force was understood, I could not decide.

G. MORRIS TO R. KING.

MORRISANIA, Nov. 1, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

I am to acknowledge your Favors of the 19th & 21st of last month, which by Reason of a short Visit to New York, did not reach me in due Course. Accept now my thanks for them.

The British Commrs, mentioned very slightly the alleged Ground of Quarrel as one which would probably make a Point in the negotiations. It may be disposed of in two ways, the first and most eligible in my opinion, is to make, on our Part, a frank avowal of the contested Right and then ask of them to insert such Modifications in the Exercise of it as the Sameness of Language and Similarity of Manners require, when one of the Parties may be at War and the other at Peace. The Second way to dispose of it, and that which the British Comrs may prefer, is to say nothing about it. This will, in Effect, be a full acknowledgment on our Part and Spare them the delicate Task of arranging reciprocal Modifications of the Exercise to suit John Bull in the double Hypothesis of belligerent and Neuter. The Publication of these Instructions places the Ball at the Foot of our Enemy who will, of Course, kick it in the manner most agreeable to him.

I was surprised at the Fire and Fuss made about this negotiation when it was first published. Next to the folly of our Rulers is the Madness of our Friends, who rashly pledge themselves to fight for Sailors' Rights on the Frontiers of Canada ; because, forsooth, Great Britain will not, abandoning her Allies, sign seal and deliver a Declaration of her own Perfidy.

Pray make my respectful Compts. to your name Sake in the House of Representatives, whose Speech I have read with singular Satisfaction. The Pretext that if we do not grant Supplies we shall be conquered and colonized is so futile that I wonder to hear it from Men of Sense. This Nation is not to be conquered by twenty or thirty thousand Soldiers. Neither would our Independence be, at all, endangered tho' a more powerful Army should march from Maine to Georgia and from Georgia to Maine.

Your Scheme of Finance will not answer. The People are unable to pay such heavy Taxes in *real Money*, and the general Interest to depreciate your Paper will take Effect notwithstanding the Struggle of monied men. The Project of putting a world on an Elephant's Back to stand on a Tortoise and he on nothing, will have the Success to be expected from so rational a Device, Immediate Peace, or the Destruction of Money Capital. Take your Choice.

As to Mr. Monroe's 60,000 conscriptive men in Kendal Green, his 40,000 in Buckram, they are worthy of Mr. Dallas' Bank Stock. Your Enemy will not be deceived by such a Paper Machinery of Force and Finance, but pursue his plans of Hostility with a Confidence of ultimate Success. An Union of the commercial States to take Care of themselves, leaving the War, its Expense and its Debt to those choice Spirits so ready to declare and so eager to carry it on, seems to be now the only rational Course.* Yours truly

GOUV. MORRIS.

* In answer to a letter from Mr. Pickering of Oct. 22, 1814, saying that he had sent to him "the despatches from our Ministers in Ghent, their instructions, and the statement of the New Secretary of the Treasury of his plan of taxes and his project of a national bank," Mr. Jay writes on Nov. 1, among other matters, "Things being as they are, I think we cannot be too perfectly united in a determination to defend our country, nor be too vigilant in watching and resolutely examining the conduct of the administration in all its departments,

C. WILKES TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Nov. 3, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

We are all extremely anxious here, upon the question of the proposed bank of the U States,* which I hope you will permit me to plead as an excuse for giving you the trouble of this letter. I venture to ask your opinion whether such a measure

candidly and openly giving decided approbation or decided censure, according as it may deserve the one or the other. . . . I have just read Mr. King's speech; they who complain that it exhibits too little of the *suaviter in modo*, cannot also complain that it exhibits too little of the *fortiter in re*." †

† *Corresp., etc., of John Jay*, 1893, iv., 379. It is probable that the Mr. King alluded to is Cyrus King, in the House of Representatives from Massachusetts, who made a very earnest speech against the increase of taxes, in which he warmly arraigned the administration and its followers.

A gentleman in Washington writes to the New York *Evening Post*, on Nov. 4th.

"Mr. King, on the subject of the bill to borrow three millions of dollars yesterday in the Senate, came out with his usual ability. How cutting are his remonstrances; at the same time how wise and parental his admonitions. 'However discouraging the present of the country,' said he, 'with a depreciated, *degraded* currency, embarrassed and sunken by the war, I will vote the men and the money to the administration, *such as it is*, to defend the Country. Be the application with them. But let me remind gentlemen that *conviction* is now abroad in the land, conviction produced by experience, that they will be held responsible for the violation of those maxims which prudence and success have confirmed.'

"I have long observed here that a certain political regimen is observed, calculated to break down the pretension of every man who makes his appearance on this great political theatre from the eastward, and who is at all qualified to draw the attention of the public to him. No matter what may be his talents, his acquirements, or his virtues, two questions only are asked. Is he of our party? Is he willing to submit to the dominion of Virginia? . . . Hence it is that in your State you have Clinton proscribed, German spurned because he dares to remember that he represents the great State of New York—Fisk and Taylor kept on the footing of MERE VOTERS, when the executive decrees are to be registered, and Rufus King hated. King's lustre is so dazzling, his worth so sparkling, that they cannot obscure him. They therefore hate him." ‡

‡ *Evening Post*, Nov. 10, 1814.

* On Sept. 30, 1814, the petition o fDavid M. Clarkson and others, citizens of New York, was presented to the Senate by Mr. German, praying for the establishment of a National Bank and on Oct. 31st it was referred to a special Committee, of which Mr. King was chairman. Mess. Smith, Taylor, Bibb, and Mason were the other members. On Dec. 2d Mr. King reported a bill to incorporate one.

is likely to be adopted upon the plan of the new Secretary. I have found no person here who thinks the measure practicable at present, or at all likely to give much relief to the government. It appears impossible that six millions of specie should be obtained; but if they could be, they would not, by any means, secure the payment of the notes of such a bank in specie for a month, & if restricted from paying in specie I do not see how the notes can possibly be kept from depreciation for a week. In short it appears to me most evident, that an issue of Treasury notes, bearing a low rate of interest but fundable at eight p. cent interest whenever the holder pleased, & not payable at any definite period, would be an infinitely better remedy for the present distress of the government than a bank beginning almost in bankruptcy, and urged, as it will necessarily be, to press out its notes without measure. Such a bank, I own, appears to me a mere job to serve a few persons who hold very large sums of stock & hope in this way to get rid of it by changing its form. I beg pardon for this detail to you who know the subject as well as any person & will only add that at our weekly meetings of the banks, there seems to be an universal opinion that the proposed plan will be a bad one for the public & for the administration; & if you thought it would be of any use, I think it very probable the banks might be induced to join in any measures of remonstrance against it. There would be some danger to be sure in such a measure, as we should probably be asked to loan money, but perhaps it would be better even to do that, rather than see carried through a bank, which in our opinion will only make the state of paper credit still more desperate than it already is. May I beg the favor of your opinion whether it is worth while to stir the question at our meetings, and whether in any way, we can do any thing here which may be useful? I would fain reserve a bank of the United States as a remedy, in better times, to recover the wretched state of our currency. I am Dr. Sir with the greatest respect. your obt Servt.

CHAS. WILKES.

P. S. As a proof of what the difficulty would be to collect specie, I will just mention that I have information from the most unquestionable authority that the notes of our bank, sold at public auction at Boston a few days ago at fourteen p Cent discount & I know that our notes are in better credit there than those of any of our fellow banks.

C. WILKES TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Nov. 11, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

I have just received yr. favor of the 8th. I am very happy to find that you see no objection to a memorial on the part of the banks here against the proposed bank. When I received yr. favor of the 3rd, giving the heads of the bill, I thought it well to lose no time in getting as well as I could the opinion of our general committee on the subject, & I found them so much disposed to oppose the measure, that I proposed a memorial which was at the general meeting on Wednesday, referred to a committee to report again next Wednesday. I am persuaded all the banks will agree to it except possibly the City bank where Mr. Few's influence, as President, may prevent it. I have however seen him & read the memorial to him & he has not expressed any opinion unfavorable to it. I think it not unlikely that we may conclude upon it next week. I wish very much that we could have the benefit of your advice as to the matter of it. I fear it may be found too long, altho' I have as much as possible endeavoured to shorten it. We express it as our firm belief;

That the capital will be found too large, that six millions of specie cannot be obtained by any inducements which can be held out, altho' a less sum in specie than six millions, will not afford a proper security to the public.

That even if six millions could be procured, the payment of the notes in specie, could not be continued for any long period.

That if the notes are not paid in specie, they will infallibly depreciate.

That if they depreciate, the present banks cannot without ruin, take them either in payment or on deposit, &

That if the Banks throughout the country generally do not take them, they will not answer as a general medium of circulation; which is used as a great argument for the necessity of a bank.

These different propositions we have endeavoured to shew the truth of, as well as we can in a short compass, & we end by a positive declaration that so far from opposing a national bank, one of our principal reasons for thinking the present plan should not be adopted, is that it would be to throw away the best remedy for a disordered state of finance & credit, which in our opinion a

national bank, upon proper principles & at a more auspicious moment, would prove. We add also that we think Treasury bills issued in the way proposed by the Committee of Ways & Means, with some slight alterations, would be a better resource for the government, a much better medium for general circulation & much less liable to depreciate.

I should be happy to hear if any of these topics appear to you improper to be introduced. Not the slightest objection was made to any of them at the general meeting & the truth of them all was admitted; indeed before I read the memorial at all, I had proposed for discussion the different arguments.

I am astonished to find that the banks in Baltimore have determined, at least we are told so, to take the notes; it appears to me quite evident that no bank can take them, if they depreciate, without absolute ruin as a Bank, and that they must depreciate, I think as demonstrable as that two & two will make four, if the government borrows from the bank even twenty millions. We are told that the banks in Philadelphia are likely to follow the example of Baltimore.

As the main objection, in my opinion to a national bank, is the utter impossibility of paying specie for its notes, and as that reason has only existed a short time, is it not a little curious that the persons who have so long opposed a national bank should choose the moment to advocate it when, the first time, there has been really a sound argument against it? As I take it for granted that a less capital than the proposed one, would not suit the views of the government or enable the bank to lend the necessary sums, I presume there is no danger in urging that the present capital is too large. Nearly all the same arguments will apply, at present, to a capital of even ten millions; but I do really think that the proposed amount very much increases the chance of permanent mischief. With the greatest respect I am yr obt. Sevt.

Chas. Wilkes.

CHAPTER XXIV.

C. King to King—New York Banks will send Memorial against the National Bank—New York Troops—Wilkes to King—Sends Memorial—Some Banks object to it—Has read the Bill—Gives his Objections—Prefers Treasury Notes to Bank Notes—King to J. Adams—Announces Gerry's Death—Mason on Gerry's Death—Choice of President *pro tem.*—Adams to King—On Death of Gerry—C. King to King—Regrets he must go to Europe on Business—The Governor gave him a Lieut.-Colonel's Commission—Mason on Speech of King—King to Sir William Scott—Former cordial Relations—Regrets the War with England—Hopes for speedy Peace—King on the Hartford Convention—Advises Prudence in its Acts—King's Speech on the Land-Tax Bill.

CHAS. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 18th Nov., 1814.

DEAR SIR :

. . . On the subject of the great bank, there prevails here a singular degree of indifference. The banks will, however, with the exception of the City Bank and perhaps the Manhattan, agree to transmit a memorial against it, drawn by Mr. Wilkes, I think, with considerable ability.

The Conscription bill is, I presume, relinquished, as Mr. Giles has introduced one of so different a nature in the Senate. According to his plan, the troops voted by this State will come very acceptably. You will see by the papers, that we have been successful in our Election—which has been rendered more important than Charter Elections usually are, by the exertions of the democrats to displace "per fas et nefas" the present incumbents. . . .

Yours truly CHAS. KING.

C. WILKES TO R. KING.

BANK OF NEW YORK, Nov. 19, 1814.

DEAR SIR :

I send herewith the memorial, which I am desired by the Committee to request you will present to the Senate when you think

best. A similar one has been sent to Mr. Irving to be presented to the House of Representatives. You will perceive that it is only signed by committees from five of our banks, the Manhattan, Mechanics & City Banks declining to authorise their committee to sign it. I am disappointed at this result, because there never was the slightest opposition made at the general meeting, either to the resolution to present a memorial, or to the arguments used in it, & all the members of the general committee were present except Mr. Few, whom I saw two or three times on the subject & he agreed perfectly in the truth of all the statements. Whether their interest, as holders of 6 ℔ C. stock, prevails over their stake as holders of bank stock, whether they were afraid of displeasing the administration or whether (which I think the most likely) it arose merely from party spirit, it equally shews how impossible it is to hope for unanimity upon any subject. We have endeavoured to use only such arguments as were of a general nature & not applicable to ourselves as bankers, & we have refrained from any reasoning to shew that the interest of the proposed stockholders is almost entirely under the control of government by the bill as it stands; yet I am afraid our memorial is too long to be heard with attention. We have no hopes of its doing any good, except as it gives the opinion of a few practical men.

I am very much obliged to you for your goodness in sending me the act & for your favor of the 14th. It is melancholy to see in what hands we are placed at a moment requiring so much talents—I have read the bill over & see many things in it I do not like—in fact, I doubt whether a bank can ever be made, upon what I think good principles, when it is so much under the control of the government. I think the pledge to lend thirty millions, whenever the government shall pass a law to require it, particularly exceptionable, not only to the bank, but as it affects the public; inasmuch as there being no choice left to the bank, the government may, under this act, force a loan from the bank without providing adequate funds for the payment of either interest or principal—nor does it seem a very improbable conjecture that under various pretences, a majority may be found in Congress, ready enough to raise 30 millions without the unpopularity of laying adequate taxes.

Altho' I have no idea that either Treasury notes or Bank notes

can supply the necessary means to carry on the war twelve months longer without being made a legal tender or something approaching to it, yet I think it quite clear that Treasury notes have the less chance. I can see no advantage on the side of the Bank notes & many disadvantages, & I firmly believe that Treasury notes will be less mischievous, indeed I think their depression is not a whit more hurtful than that of 6 ℔ Cent. stock.

I am Sir with the highest esteem yr obt Ser.

CHAS. WILKES.

R. KING TO JOHN ADAMS.

Nov. 23, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

Another of the patriots of the revolution is gone; the Vice President was dressed as usual to attend the Senate this morning, went in his carriage to call upon Mr. Nourse of the Treasury department, complained while there of feeling unwell, was helped by Mr. Nourse into the carriage to return to his quarters, distant not more than a quarter of a mile, was senseless when he arrived there & being taken out & laid upon a bed immediately expired without a groan or a struggle. Knowing your long & constant friendship for Mr. Gerry, I have thought it to be my duty to impart to you the melancholy information.

With the highest respect I remain &c.

RUFUS KING.

JEREMIAH MASON TO REV. JESSE APPLETON.*

WASH., Nov. 24, 1814.

Yesterday Gerry died very suddenly. . . . The President is often subject to bad health and is now sick, though not dangerously. This gives considerable importance to the election. [President *pro tempore* of the Senate.] The federalists and a few others will vote for Mr King. Two on our side, one from Delaware and one from N. Carolina, are absent. Were they present we might probably elect him. As it is I do not expect it. Today the administration party think of choosing Mr Taylor of S. Carolina. They are not, however, very well agreed. Their chief reason for setting him up is to prevent his voting for Mr. King, which it is said he is inclined to do. . . .

* *Memoir and Corresp. of Jeremiah Mason*, p. 107.

On November 25th an election was held, resulting in the choice of Mr. Gaillard, who received on the second ballot 16 votes; Mr. King had 10, Mr. Chase 5, Mr. Anderson 1.

JOHN ADAMS TO R. KING.

QUINCY, Dec. 2, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

I am very much obliged to you for the information, melancholly as it is to me, of the death of Mr. Gerry.

A Friendship of forty years I have found a rarity though not a singularity.

I am left alone. While Paine, Gerry and Lowell lived, there were some that I seemed to know, but now not one of my Contemporaries and Colleagues is left. Can there be any deeper damnation in this Universe than to be condemned to a long Life, in danger Toil and anxiety? to be rewarded only with Abuse Insult and Slander and to die at Seventy, leaving to an amiable Wife and nine amiable Children nothing for an inheritance, but the contempt, hatred and malice of the World?

How much prettier a thing it is, to be a disinterested Patriot like Washington and Franklin, live and die among the Hozannas and Adorations of the Multitude and leave half a Million to one Child or to no Child.

Do you wonder at Tacitus and Quintillian? I do but not at the profoundness of their Philosophy. I am astonished at the Shallowness of it, I am amazed at their Vanity and Presumption in pretending to judge the government of this all. Their only true Philosophy should have been submission and Resignation.

I am, Sir, with much respect and real Esteem
your obliged humble Servant,
JOHN ADAMS.

CHAS. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Dec. 9th, 1814.

DEAR SIR:

. . . When I had decided to go [to Europe on business of his house] I waited on the Governor to ask a furlough. He granted it, but as he said with great regret, at the necessity of my departure; he, however, tendered me immediately a Lieut.

Colonel's commission, which, he added, "as you are *going away* can only be complimentary, tho' it may perhaps be a good travelling name in Europe." He expects my return in the Spring, should the war continue; and I shall endeavor, at any rate, not to delay it beyond the summer. If peace be made this winter my regret at leaving here will be diminished—but if not, tho' I feel the propriety of the measure, I shall feel it as very hard. . . .

I am ever your

CHAS. KING.

J. MASON TO REV. JESSE APPLETON.*

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11, 1814.

. . . We have had an interesting discussion on a bill to establish a National bank, in which I took part. . . . On that occasion Mr. King of the Senate spoke in his best manner and greatest power. He is the most eloquent man I ever heard.

In the *Federal Republican* of December 7th there is a comment on this speech, which follows:

"It was then [after the speech of Mr. Smith, of Maryland, in the debate on the National Bank] that Mr. King arose and addressed the Senate in opposition to the bill and in behalf of Mr. Mason's motion to reduce the capital to twenty millions of dollars. Those who know Mr. King will at once judge how incompetent we can be to give a just and adequate description of his powers on a great subject like this. He displayed much learning and great feeling on the occasion and created an interest that we could hardly believe the subject of a bank would admit of. We forbear now to make quotations of any of his sentences, as disconnectedly they must lose their force and necessarily be tarnished by a second rendering. The Senate and as numerous an auditory as the apartment would admit, was chained down for an hour, with the deepest interest and undivided attention, and we can justly say no audience was ever more charmed, no statesman ever more admired."

* *Mem. and Cor. of J. Mason*, p. 112.

R. King to Sir William Scott.

Washington, Dec. 11, 1814.

Dear Sir :

I received with very great satisfaction the letter which you gave in charge to my son for me. To know that those for whom, and for whose virtues, we cherish a cordial Respect and Admiration, likewise preserve their Esteem for us, is a solace worth much at all times and especially in times of difficulty and public anxiety. It has been the source of much comfort to me, to recollect the consolation which I derived from the frequent comparison of our hopes & fears, concerning the disordered and dangerous condition of Europe, during the period that I passed in England. It has been the decree of Providence that these evil and alarming conditions should pass away. I have rejoiced in this event, and I do still rejoice, that Europe is not only restored to Peace, but that the great Disturber of the world is, as I hope, reduced to a condition in which he can no longer torment & devour his species.

But you will be at no loss for my feelings, nor those of my Countrymen, who, abhorring the Power that has desolated Europe, and hoping for the final triumph and security of his enemies, and especially of England, are now, strange to relate, afraid lest England meditates to employ her whole force, freed as it is from the European struggle, to divide, dismember and waste our happy Country.

I cannot, it would on no account be fit that I should, touch upon the cause of this wretched war ; but I may, perhaps without indiscretion, observe, that on our side, *we are all* desirous, and I think sincerely so, to put an end to it, by restoring things to the condition in which they were before the war commenced. What consequences may ensue, should the war be continued, I cannot foresee. However much we may have differed among ourselves respecting the declaration of war, should England refuse to put an end to it on the basis we have offered, its character will be changed and all will be called upon to unite in defending our Country against what will be represented to be the rooted and vindictive animosity of England.

I have considered the principles and conduct of England, manifested in the late Treaty of Peace as disinterested & magnanimous, and I have believed that the motives & maxims of this policy

were not peculiar to that extraordinary juncture, but of an enlightened, universal & unchangeable nature. We have therefore extolled the wisdom & forbearance of your policy and spoken of it as worthy of the applause and admiration of all men. What must, my dear Sir, be our disappointment and regret, if we have committed an error, in these opinions, and our Country should in any way be disadvantageously affected by our mistake?

But I will not pursue the painful topic; My son will have the honor to deliver this letter to you & on my part to renew to you the assurance of my unaltered Respect & Regards. I beg of you to receive him kindly and to allow him to ask your protection while he remains in England. The same reason that heretofore deterred me from even giving my son a letter introducing him to you, prevents my now saying anything to you respecting the business which, in these unhappy times, compels him to revisit England.

Since my return from London, I have lived on Long Island near to the Ocean and but a little more than an hour's drive from the city; my books, a little farm, with the amusements of the country have occupied my time, which I have passed in good health, in the bosom of my family & free from public cares. Mrs King has enjoyed but indifferent health, tho' I am encouraged to hope that it is becoming better. My three elder Sons (we have five) are married and have families each of them. The two youngest, one of whom was born in Westminster, are in the course of their education. Soon after the war broke out, I was appointed a member of the Senate of the U. S., where I earnestly endeavour to promote the re-establishment of Peace between our respective Countries, on terms mutually honorable and advantageous to both. With distinguished consideration &c

RUFUS KING.

The Hartford Convention assembled on Dec. 15, 1814. Among Mr. King's papers is the following, in his handwriting, giving his views respecting it.

HARTFORD CONVENTION

1814

Public attention is directed with uncommon earnestness towards this assembly. The difficulties of the Country and the

entire loss of confidence in the executive Government, have eminently contributed to create this uncommon concern. From the character and patriotism of the gentlemen who are members of this body, there is no ground of apprehension, but on the contrary, much confidence may be placed in the prudence of their proceedings. None who have proposed the means of obtaining correct information can be ignorant that feelings of deep dissatisfaction and of pretty strong resentment exist, and were rising to such a pitch, in the Eastern States, that without great precaution there was danger of an open resistance to the measures of the General Government.

Singular as it may appear, it would seem that there is but little difference, and not much to choose, between the voluptuous and indolent possessor of a despotic throne, and the obstinate, inexperienced and visionary man, who by chance, or the blind force of faction, may be placed in the Presidential chair. Neither knows the true condition of his Country; neither examines into the State of Agriculture, Manufactures or Commerce. Both are ignorant of the bearing and force of public opinion, the only decisive power in a free government. Both rely upon information and counsel received from those and only those, who have an interest in deceiving, and who therefore do invariably deceive them.

Mr. Madison, as it seems to us, has in this way become the willing instrument of corrupt and wicked men. By what bonds he may be bound, we know not; but this we do know, that he not only systematically declines to avail himself of the means of correct information, which the presence of enlightened and impartial men put within his reach to obtain, but instead of consulting, studiously excludes them from the opportunity of imparting to him facts and opinions of which he ought not to be ignorant, and which they have too much patriotism to withhold. The same errors have been committed by Mr. Madison—the consequences may likewise resemble each other—as were practised by George the Third. The King, like the President, was ignorant of the true opinion of New England, depending upon the reports and advice of his Governors, Custom-house officers & others, who either held places under him, or hoped to obtain places—faithless men, who by inspiring jealousies against everyone, who, as they apprehend, may

give different information from their own, effectually exclude or discredit their opinions: not only is the truth concealed, but those dangerous men, knowing that the Administration desires to succeed in its measures, and feels displeasure towards such men as are supposed to oppose them, communicate false accounts of the influence and numbers of the friends and opponents of the Executive, ascribing to the latter selfish or dishonest views, and to the former, not only greater strength but more purity and higher influence than they possess. It is a fact that is notorious throughout the States east of Pennsylvania, that the men selected for office by the national Executive, the Commissaries, the District Attornies, Loan Officers, Marshals, Contractors & Navy Agents, Post Officers, Officers of the Customs, Tax Gatherers, are not only taken from one class of citizens only, but that the persons, so chosen, are men who have little reputation either for intellect or integrity; and if Congress were to call for an account of the losses by unfaithful agents, altho' the aggregate sum would be found to be great, the number of dishonest agents would astonish the Country. These things are not looked into. The President's friends, who annually vote immense sums for contingencies in every Department, an expenditure which has increased as our morals depreciate, never stir this subject. Their opponents, civil men, decline the trouble of doing it.

No men have ever been placed in a situation of higher responsibility, very few have been surrounded by greater difficulty. Angry and powerful impulses press them from without, while an influence that some may call mere pride or vanity, altho' unobserved, perhaps unsuspected, will stimulate them, as it is sure to do other men who have been called to difficult and ostensible stations, to devise and propose plans, which shall be answerable to the crisis and that may satisfy the public expectation. It is from this quarter more than any other that the danger of premature measures may be apprehended, as no explicit remedy from the complications of the mischiefs can now be devised. As important results may soon occur, which must, and ought to have, a bearing upon the subjects which engage the attention of the Convention, prudence will recommend further deliberation, more time, more extensive information, fuller evidence of common sentiment and more complete concord of opinion, concerning the great interests

which will be affected by anything of a positive character that can now be proposed.

The proceedings of the present session of Congress will have an extensive and powerful influence upon the Country. If the laws that shall be passed, instead of reviving and sustaining public and commercial credit, as they ought to do and could do, should have the effect of bringing down private & commercial credit to the level of the public credit ; should designedly put into circulation a depreciated and depreciating paper ; should it be the purpose that Taxes & Dividends & Debts should be paid in this paper, either by the fraudulent agency of a Bank or by unchecked issues of Government, such measures ought to be received as full evidence, that after wasting the navigation and destroying the commerce of the country, domestic as well as foreign, our Rulers are resolved upon further weakening the middle and northern States, by the abolition of Debts.

Delay will moreover put us in possession of the issue of the apprehended invasion of N. O ; an invasion which ought not to have furnished a moment's anxiety. Government were seasonably notified of the Enemy's intention. They possessed abundant means to protect that important city ; and, if it falls, they ought to be, and ultimately will be made accountable to the Nation for its loss. Should the enemy be repulsed, we shall probably have peace in the Spring ; and being freed from a ruinous war, may then direct our whole attention to the re-organization and re-establishment of our affairs. If N. O. passes under the dominion of the enemy, the war will be continued for many years.

Altho' New England may have been more deeply humiliated and a greater sufferer, than other States, they cannot be ignorant that deep and extensive dissatisfaction prevails in every State of the Union ; that the secret proofs of folly and weakness which occur without interruption, are producing their just and natural effect. The evils that we feel, are working their own cure. Patience, prudence, time are the only resources to which wise men can look for remedies.

Partial measures will disappoint their authors. They may do more, they may put at hazard measures of a comprehensive and permanent character. A deliberation, uniting in it the wisdom, the courage and the experience of the whole Nation may at no

distant day be required ; whether it can be accomplished is uncertain ; the character of our country has materially changed since the year 1786 ; but no hasty or sectional proceedings should embarrass the attainment of this object. The real patriots, the men of sound principles, are dispersed over the whole nation. They have the same pride of country, the same devotion to the principles of freedom, the same desire that the Government of the Nation should afford equal protection and distribute its honors with an impartial hand among the respective members.

The Administration.*

Immediately after the Bladensburgh Races, all the world knows that General Armstrong was turned out of office and that Colonel Monroe soon after descended from the rank and emoluments of the Department of State to those of the War Department office. Since this period, the very important office of Secretary of State has remained, and still continues to be, vacant.

The Treasury Department having remained for a long time without a Head, pursuant to an engagement understood to have been made with Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Campbell of the Senate was named to that distinguished and arduous station : the short and confused career of this Cabinet Minister was terminated about the same time with that of his colleague Genl. Armstrong. How far the causes which removed the latter, influenced the retreat of the former, is matter of conjecture only. Neither were in good odour with the Pretender to the succession. Mr. Dallas who has the double merit of foreign origin, and that suppleness of character which knows how so well to wind his way among hesitating and ill informed Statesmen, was called from a profession in which he held a respectable standing, but the pursuits of which have never been supposed to have any special relation to, or as being likely to afford much help in, administration of the national finances.

If temerity be wisdom, if the recommendation of plans which cannot fail deeply and vitally to impair the public credit, if the multiplication of taxes, without regard to their bearing upon the employments, the habits, the prejudices, or the ability of the

* In R. King's handwriting.

People to pay them, be evidence of the talents and qualifications of a financier, then is Mr. Dallas an able and eminent Minister of Finance.

Mr. Rush to be sure is in statu quo—but of nothing nothing need be said—though we might intimate that he passes more time with, and since the death of the Vice President is more consulted by the President than any other personage.

From the "Federal Republican."

In one of their late papers, Messrs. Gales and Madison have graciously condescended to publish a word or two in praise of some sentiments which fell from Mr. King in the senate, when a tax bill was on its passage in that body.* What fell from the honorable gentleman, who has had the misfortune to be applauded by the court paper is no more than we have several times heard him express ourselves; and if we mistake not, in much stronger language on some occasions, with the exception of that part of his remarks, which divides the blame of the people's wrongs and sufferings between Mr. Madison and his majority in congress. It was this equitable distribution of responsibility among the authors of our calamities, that so pleased his majesty, as to draw forth a complimentary notice in his journal. Crime and misery love

* "A debate of some interest took place on its passage, in the course of which we were much gratified at the accidental opportunity of hearing some honorable sentiments uttered on the occasion by Mr. King of New York. Much as he deprecated the state of war in which the nation was placed, he said he should contribute his vote, by all constitutional means to make it effective, by affording to the Executive men and money to any item. It might be and no doubt was, true, that blame was in a degree imputable to the executive department, as well for the fiscal as the military conduct of the war; but it behoved Congress, he justly remarked, to examine how far they were culpable of omissions to furnish the means to enable the Executive to act. It was their duty to raise armies, to provide the ways and means to support them. It was well worthy of consideration, he said, how far the omission or delay to perform these duties had disabled the Executive from performing his duty in the most efficient manner. These are generally the ideas very handsomely expressed by Mr. King. If so liberal a course had always been pursued by that gentleman, we should not have had occasion to withhold from his conduct the tribute of our respect. On this occasion his observations gained additional force from the vivid contrast which they exhibited to the arguments of his political friends, who had preceded him in debate."—*Natl. Intellr.*, Jany. 5, 1815.

company, and Mr. Madison really seems so delighted to hear others accused of being not less guilty than himself, that he is willing to be brought to the bar, tried and convicted himself, if he can only have his abettors in crime in both branches of congress swung off on either side of him.

To prevent any misconception which the paragraph in the *Intelligencer* might otherwise occasion, we now invite the reader's attention to an accurate sketch of the proceeding in the Senate referred to.

In Senate.*

On the passage of the land tax in the senate, Mr. Gore delivered a speech of great ability, in justification of the vote he gave against the passage of the bill. Mr. Gore admitted a direct tax, as a branch of the system of taxes sent from the house of representatives, to be not only expedient, but necessary to equalize the operation of the taxes, and to be due from certain states by way of compensation for their otherwise disproportionate number of representatives.

Mr. Gore then proceeded to state in a clear and concise manner, the facts, respecting the calling out of the militia of Massachusetts, vindicated the proceedings of Governor Strong, and exposed the unconstitutional and impolitic conduct of the President of the United States, in requiring that the militia should be separated from their own officers, and placed under the command of regular officers, sent into the state without regular troops. He observed that large detachments of militia had been called out and done duty in the public service; that the general government which called them out had refused to pay them; and that the state, out of its limited resources had been obliged to pay them; that the state was unable to continue these expenditures in future, and at the same time to pay their quota of taxes to the general government; and as according to past decisions no portion of these taxes, when collected, would be applied for the protection of Massachusetts, he should feel himself bound to vote against a bill for laying and collecting a direct tax in that state.

Mr. King of N. Y. observed, that as the passage of the tax bill

* January 5, 1815.

afforded an opportunity for a great range in debate, the circumstance would account for a variety of topics which had been urged on the question, whether the bill laying a land tax, should pass the senate.

That he considered the able speech of his hon. friend from Massachusetts, (Mr. Gore) for he said it was a speech of great ability and precision, in the nature of a protest, against what he deemed the unwarrantable and impolitic decision of the national executive in respect to the service and command of the militia of that state. His hon. friend had made no special objection to the tax bill before the senate; on the contrary he admitted, that a portion of the revenue ought to be collected by a direct tax. He appeared to have some doubts whether the aggregate of taxes was not too great, but he rested his vote against the land tax upon the ground that no part of it would be applied for the defence and protection of Massachusetts.

No man, said Mr. King, has from the beginning entertained a more decided opinion than he himself had done, respecting the declaration of war. He had always considered it as unnecessary, improvident, and contrary to every maxim of prudence. That much of censure had been justly urged, not only against the declaring of the war, but against the executive, for the omission of an early opportunity to put an end to it, as well as for the defective and disastrous manner of carrying it on—that much more, in his opinion might, without injustice, be charged against the executive; but that the executive was not alone responsible for the present condition of the country; and he called upon honorable senators to lay their hands upon their own breasts, and to answer whether the congress had done their duty?

The war being declared, not only the raising and providing of armies and navies belonged to congress, but the means to maintain and support the army and navy could only be furnished by congress. Hence the finances and the public credit were objects of their peculiar care; these demanded their early and undivided attention. The moment when war was resolved upon, that moment a system of taxes and of rigorous economy should have been devised and adopted by congress. From that moment the public credit should have been guarded, cherished and strengthened, as the precious and principal resource, by means whereof

the country could hope to be enabled to bring the war to a safe and honorable conclusion.

Instead of performing this duty, the congress which declared the war, took no measures to increase the revenue which was daily sinking: gave no attention to the dangers which awaited the public credit. Within the first year of the war, the department of the treasury was deserted by its head. The superintendance of the finances, the preparation of a system of taxes, and the custody and care of the public credit were devolved upon clerks and job men and undertakers.

The President committed a great fault in sending the secretary of the treasury out of the country, without naming a successor, (and Mr. King might have added, that he committed a greater fault in expelling from his presence, as he did, a committee of the senate deputed to expostulate with him upon this subject) but the congress committed a much greater one, in suffering the treasury department, the object of their special charge to be thus abandoned, without an adequate effort on their part to correct the abuse; or to make those provisions, without which all reflecting men foresaw the derangement of the finances, and the failure of the public credit, which have since occurred.

These opinions, said Mr. King, were not then for the first time avowed by him—honorable senators would do him the justice, to acknowledge that from his first taking his seat among them, he had repeatedly presented them to the senate, and earnestly pressed their importance upon their consideration.

That hitherto, little had been done by congress, and that little had not been advantageously employed in support of the public credit. That now, late as it was, and increased as the public difficulties were, by past omissions, so all important did he deem it to be, to make the utmost exertions the country could do, to revive the public credit, that he should not withhold his support from any constitutional measure, which he thought capable of promoting this object.

He therefore should vote for the land tax, as the basis of a system of taxes, which if prudently administered, promised to revive and support the public credit. He was not sure that congress were not now going too far; and that the amount of the proposed taxes might not exceed the present ability of the people to pay,

but so dangerous did he consider the condition of the nation, that with all his apprehensions arising out of past failures, he should vote for those supplies of men and money without which the country could not, in his judgment, be defended.—From the New York *Evening Post*, January 13, 1815.

CHAPTER XXV.

Action of Maryland's House of Delegates, thanking King, by Name, and other Members of Congress, for their Agency in stopping the Militia Bill—King's Answer—Morris to King—National Bank—Failure of Conscription Law—Fears Hartford Convention will not take strong Ground—King's Remarks on Bill to lay a direct Tax—Approves—Morris to King—Strictures on the Support of the Government—King to C. King—On current Actions of Congress—King to C. King—Battle of New Orleans—King to Morris—Answers his Strictures—Union in Defence of the Country only Way to Peace—King to Morris—Treaty of Peace arrived—Morris to King—Conjectures relative to the Treaty—Democrats will probably go for Abolition of the direct Tax.

By the House of Delegates of Maryland.

January 6, 1815.

Amidst the impending sufferings and multiplied disorders of war, brought upon the American people by their misplaced and abused confidence in the wisdom and virtue of their rulers, there has been no evil of a more alarming and fatal tendency in the contemplation of this House, than the inordinate grasp of power and undisguised spirit of encroachment on the sovereign rights of the States and the personal liberties of the citizens, so repeatedly and unequivocally manifested in the acts of the General Government.

Under this impression and in the maintenance of those rights and privileges, it was considered as a prompt and paramount duty on the part of this House to evince a faithful and firm determination of purpose, the moment that intelligence was recently received of the progress of a Bill * in both Branches of the National

* On Nov. 5, 1814, Mr. Giles, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported a bill to the Senate authorizing the President of the United States to call upon the several States and Territories thereof for their respective quotas of —— thousand militia, for the defence of the frontiers of the United States On Nov. 22d, after amendments, and a discussion, in which Messrs. Gore and

Legislature, whose palpable object it was to convert the free militia of these United States into train-bands and cohorts of an odious despotic force. This decision was rendered the more indignant by a view of the gross sophistry and arbitrary pretensions promulgated in the Report of the Secretary of War at the commencement of the session, designed to reconcile the repugnant sentiment of the free people of this land to the principle of the several schemes and projects of invasion on their birth rights and liberties, and suggested in that Report for the acquiescence of Congress.

To the sensibility of this House thus seriously awakened by the threatened pressure of a system so immediately calculated to make "confusion worse confounded," and to produce a dread collision of authority between the National Government and the authority of the individual State, it is therefore now a matter of lively gratification to learn, that the passage of the proposed Bill has been eventually arrested in the Senate of the United States. And the gratification is enhanced by the circumstance, that this happy issue has been effected at the instance of an illustrious Statesman and Jurist, whose opinion, worthy as it is on all subjects of the most attentive consideration, is entitled to peculiar regard on any question touching a construction of the powers imparted by the Federal Constitution, because it is the opinion of a surviving member of the convention of sages and patriots, by whom that constitution was planned and originally recommended for adoption.

Wherefore in order more fully to display the solemn interest which the occasion has inspired throughout the community of this

Gouldsborough opposed the bill, the Senate passed it, 19 to 12, the title of the bill containing the clause "for the defence of the frontiers against invasion." Mr. King was absent owing to sickness.

The bill was sent to the House of Representatives for concurrence, and was passed by it on Dec. 21st with amendments. The Senate refused to accept all the amendments, and the matter was referred to a Committee of Conference between the two Houses. Their report was made to the Senate on the 28th, and, there being still disagreement, on motion of Mr. King, the bill with the report was postponed to the second Monday in March next, after the final adjournment of Congress, 14 to 13.

It is to this action that the House of Delegates of Maryland refers.—Ed. *Annals of Congress*, 1814–15, pp. 38, 95 *et seq.*

State, and more especially for the purpose of rendering a just meed of public applause for eminent service in the defence of public liberty,

Resolved—That the thanks of this House, in behalf of the Freemen of Maryland, be and they are hereby presented to the Honorable Rufus King, of the Senate of the United States, for the reasonable and successful interposition of his experienced wisdom and elevated influence of character in averting the meditated operation of a measure, hostile to the immunities of constitutional freedom, offensive to the pure genius of independence, and fraught with consequences baleful and appalling to the social order, tranquillity and well being of this united Republic.

And the House would accompany the respectful tribute which is thus specially offered, with a general expression of the grateful sense which it also entertains of the distinguished merit of the other members of the minority, who so steadfastly and ably cooperated, at every renewal of the struggle, in both Branches of Congress, in combatting against the insidious introduction of an authoritative conscript establishment, more specious in the form of its approach, but not essentially different from that whose intense oppression has just vanished from the Continent of Europe, with its guilty author the blood stained usurper of France.

Ordered that the Honorable the Speaker of this House be requested to transmit to the Honorable Rufus King an authenticated Copy of this present proceeding

By order—UPTON L. REID Clerk,
House Deleg. Maryland.

ANNAPOLIS, Jany. 6, 1815.

THE HONBLE. RUFUS KING.

DEAR SIR:

In obedience to the direction of the House of Delegates of Maryland, I have the honor, herewith, to transmit to you a Copy of their proceeding on the subject recognised by the enclosed Resolution. I beg you to be assured of the high satisfaction I take in the discharge of this duty, and to believe me with sentiments of esteem and respect

Yr. very obedient Servt. HENRY H. CHAPMAN
Speaker of the House of Delegates of Maryland.

R. KING TO HENRY H. CHAPMAN, ESQ.

(Speaker of the House of Delegates of Maryland).

WASHINGTON, January 8, 1815.

SIR :

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 6th inst., transmitting to me a copy of the Resolution of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland of the same date.

Permit me, Sir, thro' you to express to the House of Delegates the high sense that I entertain of the honor of their approbation of my conduct as a member of the Senate, in opposing a Bill, which required of the Militia of the several States, to furnish recruits for the regular army, under the penalty of being themselves drafted to serve in the prosecution of the war.

At the same time that I offer my acknowledgments to the House of Delegates, I am bound in justice to others, to disclaim any particular merit on this occasion ; the failure of the Bill must be ascribed to the strenuous and able opposition, which it received in both Houses of Congress, sustained as this opposition has been, by the voice of the country.

I ask your indulgence to add, that while I have resisted the Progress of a Bill, professing to have for its object, to provide for the common defence, by means which the Constitution does not in my judgment authorize, I have thought myself obliged by a faithful regard for the general safety, at a period of great public difficulty, without reference to the past, to vote for supplies of men and money and for other important measures within the pale of the Constitution, that are deemed necessary to revive the public credit, to protect the several States against invasion and to defend and save from dismemberment the Territory and Sovereignty of the Nation—objects, to the attainment of which no efforts that can be made by Freemen will be deemed too great.

With distinguished consideration, I have the honor to be

Sir, your obt. Servant

RUFUS KING.

G. Morris to R. King.

Morrisania, Jan. 7, 1815.

My dear Sir:

I have seen, with Concern, that your health has been feeble, and am the more obliged by your Attention in forwarding sundry Documents. I learnt yesterday that your Bank Bubble has burst,* on which, if the Union is to be revived, I congratulate every Friend to our Country; for it would have hung a millstone round our Necks and rendered a sound System of Finance almost, if not altogether, impracticable. A thing of this Sort is more pernicious, in its immediate Effects, and far more dangerous, in its remote Consequences, than Paper Money of the old Stamp. Whether to congratulate or condole with you on the Failure of your Conscription Scheme I know not. Had it passed and attempts been made to execute it, the People might have roused from a Lethargy boding Death to our Rights. If not resisted, many precious Rights enjoyed under the British Government, which their Claim of Supremacy had not jeopardized, would have been destroyed. We shall I suppose soon learn what the Hartford Convention has done. As far as my Information goes, they will not come up to the point which would have insured Success. An opinion generally exprest, tho' not perhaps entertained, that the Union must be preserved may, by enfeebling their Decisions, lessen the Motives for adherence. Should they cause it to be well understood, not only that no Men or Money shall be drawn from, and, in Case of Separation, no Part of the War Debt be Paid by New England, that the Execution of Offices held under the Union is suspended, and that honorable Conditions of Peace shall if proposed on the Part of Great Britain, be immediately accepted, this State would, I believe, adhere by an almost unanimous Vote. Because Office holders being appalled, Office Hunters put on a new scent, the People paid, with their own money, to abandon a

* The bill for the charter of the National Bank, which had been passed and sent to the President for his signature, was returned to the Senate on January 30th, with his objections. The Message was read, and on February 2d its consideration was engaged in, when Mr. King made a careful examination of the objections (which will be found in Appendix II.). The bill was put upon its passage and failed to receive the sanction of the Senate,—Mr. King voting in the affirmative.

sinking Ship, and the Traders and Consumers of foreign Merchandise—I had written thus far when a Pamphlet containing the Acts of the Convention was brought to me They have fallen short, not only of the ideas just exprest, but of general Expectation, and will be laughed at by many. Nevertheless the Business will, I am persuaded, go all the Length they look to. If Mr. Madison & Co. close with their Propositions (it will be difficult to adjust the terms) a Separation will be acknowledged; and should those terms be rejected it must ensue. While you sit deliberating, the Union withers in the opinion of those who think they are thinking Men. For my own Part, I considered the Constitution as dead from the Repeal of the judiciary and the Union as dissolved when the national Executive declared they could not defend the States, and would not abandon their Scheme of conquering Canada. A new Order of things must arise when the actual Disorder shall be generally felt. A Government without Force, without Money, without talent and generally despised cannot stand. If not over thrown it must tumble down, and the Convention have, out of pure Malice perhaps, left [illegible] as being the more humiliating alternative.

Yours truly

GOUV. MORRIS.

G. MORRIS TO R. KING.

MORRISANIA, Feb. 2, 1815.

DEAR SIR:

I have received the Papers and Report you had the Goodness to send. Mr Secretary's Defence of his taxes will not bear him out, for some of them are unwise and some unjust; but I shall not attempt to point out Defects; Taxes are sufficiently unpalatable even when correctly and judiciously imposed. It would therefore be unnecessary, in any Case, but improper now to expose Defects in the Plan adopted; seeing that it was supported by many of our Friends. This support has delighted our Foes. A Gentleman, speaking on the subject yesterday, said that shortly before he left Home, he inveighed in Conversation with one of them, against the Impositions occasioned by this wicked war. This Antagonist replied "I am surprized, Sir, that you should

say any thing against taxes voted for, in Congress, by your own Party." The same Reason which prohibits Strictures on what is done, requires Silence on what remains to do. You my Friend, standing on an elevated Stage and viewing, of Course, an extensive Prospect may see your way thro' Difficulties, daily accumulating, which appear to me insurmountable; you may have Reason to believe that money lavishly granted, will be prudently applied. It may be expected therefore that you and those who think and feel like you, will go on, piling up one oppressive tax on the top of another to support the Measures of Mr. Madison. We who think differently of him and them, are compelled to believe that this Mode of defending our Country must reduce it to a Condition not worth defending; but I am far, very far, from blaming those with whom it is my great misfortune to differ in opinion; on the contrary, I pray God that my Views may be as false as they are limited, that federal support of a jacobin Administration may not ensure its Continuance; that peace may be as near as wiser Men than I am believe, and as honorable as more sanguine Men than I am expect. The taxes already laid will not, I think, be paid (unless in worthless Paper) because great Part of the Community cannot pay having neither money nor means to procure it. Paper Currency, therefore, of some sort or other will, I presume, issue and (depreciating) destroy the just Relations of Life. The vast Treasure of Britain would be insufficient for Defence, much less Conquest, on the wild Principles and extravagant Practices adopted and pursued. Having no doubt that our Want of funds and of Force must encrease, I prepare to meet Consequences which appear inevitable. God bless you.

GOUV. MORRIS.

R. KING TO CHARLES KING, ENGLAND.

GEORGETOWN, Feby. 7, 1815.

DEAR SIR:

I wrote to you from the Senate today, informing you of the promise that in a few days we shd. have the nomination of a new Secry. of the Treasury; nothing having transpired which enables me to conjecture who will be named, I can add nothing satisfactory upon this point. If ever any Country wanted a person of

abilities, knowledge & firmness in the department of its finances more than we do, its condition must have been deplorable in the extreme.

By the destruction of Commerce, the Revenue has been destroyed ; and during the current year money must be borrowed to pay the interest of the pub. Debt, or the ordinary expenses of the Peace Establishment ; the Product of the Taxes being deficient nearly two millions for both these objects. Mr. Gallatin's Plan of Finance for the war, was to raise by Taxes within the year sufficient to support the Peace Establishment, taken at 7. mills., and to pay the interest upon the old & new Debt, which allowing about half a million payable in the current year on account of Interest upon the new Loan, amounts to upwards of 5 millions, making together something more than 12 millions—to defray this expense the estimated Receipts of Taxes are about 10 millions, or a little more, leaving the deficit I have mentioned.

The full interest upon the large Loan of this year will be payable next year in addition to a further sum on account of a further Loan, which, be it Peace or war, will be requisite. To meet this increased expenditure, instead of an increase of Taxes, the Product of the current year will be lessened. The internal Revenue may be increased by a million of Dollars, but the Customs, instead of Six Millions * receivable in the current year, will (shd. the System of Restrictions continue) be reduced to half a million: so that while the Peace Establishment & Interest on ye pub. Debt in the year 1815 will amount to nearly 14 Millions, the Revenue, shd. no further Taxes be imposed, and the restrictive System continue, will not exceed six millions, leaving the deficiency Eight millions—Of the credit of a Country, which manages its affairs in this manner, nothing need be said. Mr. Barker & others from New York, & persons of Philadelphia, whose names I do not recollect, are applying to Congress to make a National Bank. Scruples respecting the power of Congress stand in the way. To get over them, it is proposed to create a Bank within this District (over wh. Congress have exclusive legislation) with a capital of 30 mils., and a power to establish Branches in such States as shall permit them. The Projectors say that half

* $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of wh. will arise from the Bonds upon the last year's importation.

the Capital shall be lent to the U. S., and that, with the help of the Bank, future Loans will be readily effected, and great facility afforded in the management of the Revenue.

What degree of countenance may be given to this Project, I know not ; I dislike it. In respect to the Projects to which you allude, where you are, I commend your resolution to keep yourself clear of them. Your own sense of justice and of honor, giving them fair play, will keep you where you shd. be. I therefore repeat my earnest hope, that you will hold yourself aloof, and not permit any man to discuss with you a subject, which an honorable man cannot hear proposed without losing half his integrity.*

Very affectionately yrs

R. K.

P. S. Of Peace I can say nothing with any sort of confidence. It is very difficult to form a safe opinion of the views of men whose principles are so very different from your own. Upon the whole it seems to me that not only our own affairs, but those of France are in so wretched a state, that our Rulers must be anxious of Peace; whether they form a correct estimate of what England will do, is my chief difficulty. The danger is that they may believe that England will be more accommodating than they will perhaps find her.

R. KING TO CHARLES KING, ENGLAND.

GEORGETOWN, DT. OF COLUMBIA,
Feb. 11, 1815.

DEAR SIR :

On the 14th of December the first Gun Boats, which were stationed in Lake Ponchartrain, and had been dispatched to carry supplies from N. Orleans to Mobile, were met upon the return near to the Entrance of Lake Borgne, and attacked by a great number of Barges & Launches, from the British Squadron which had arrived with a considerable army to attack N. Orleans—The open waters,—the small boats not having yet reached the narrow

* There is nothing to show to what this alludes.

Passes into the Lake,—enabled the Enemy to apply a great number of Boats, which after a severe contest, the particulars of which have not been received, captured or destroyed all the Gun Boats—These being the only guard upon the Lake, the enemy entered Lake Borgne with his Boats, and vessels of light draft, and succeeded in landing about 2000 troops on the 23rd of Dec. at a Plantation about Seven miles below N. Orleans upon the Left Bank of the Mississippi.—General Jackson who had charge of the Tennessee troops in the Creek war, had been ordered to proceed from Mobile to N. Orleans, and his militia, as well as that of Kentucky and Louisiana, including the Mississippi Territory, were also ordered to be marched to that Station—In the first week of December Jackson without his Militia reached N. O., where were the remains of two Regular Regiments consisting of 450 Men together with about 200 artillery. The City Militia of all colours and tongues, together with such as could be called in from the neighbourhood, added a few Hundred more to the Forces.—His force was only this handful, until the Day of the Disembarkation by the Enemy; in the forenoon of which a Body of 12 or 1400 Tennessee mounted Militia arrived in the neighbourhood of the City. Jackson called in a portion of his Reinforcements, leaving the residue to guard the City from an attack on the north, and at about 7 oC'k. at Night with about 1500 Men attacked the Enemy in Camp.—After doing more injury, and creating great alarm, Jackson recalled his men and retired Back to within a few miles of the City. So confident were the Enemy that the People of the Country would join them, and that N. O. was without Forces to protect it, that he encamped on the night of the 23rd without posting centinels towards the City; and Jackson was in the Camp before he suspected his approach. The Effect of the bold attempt created apprehension that Jackson's forces were very large & strong. The Enemy altho' reinforced on the following morning by the Disembarkation of 2000 more Troops, carrying his forces to 4000, hesitated & waited for more Reinforcements. In the mean Time Jackson was reinforced, and enabled to raise a work extending from the Mississippi to a Cypress Swamp reaching to Lake Borgne; there having been a Mill Race entirely across from the River to the Swamp nothing but the Parapet was wanting and a little deepening of the Ditch.—About

the 28th of Dec. the Demonstration of an assault upon this work was made by the Enemy, but was not pressed ; in the first day or two of January similar advances were made ; in which affairs between the Pickets occurred, and in which the Riflemen with Rifles carrying balls, 60. to the pound, punished the Enemy severely.

Further Reinforcements from Kentucky & Tennessee reached New Orleans during the first week of January. The Movements of the Enemy's Camp on the 6 & 7 were correctly interpreted by Jackson, who arranged his Militia upon the Left next the Cypress morass, and the few Regulars with other Militia upon his right adjoining to the River. The attack was expected during the night. The Riflemen, for the Militia were generally armed with hunting Guns or Rifles, were placed four deep behind the Parapet ; the ablest and most active and skilful composed the two front lines, the older and less skilful composed the two last.—The two front ranks alone were to fire, the two rear ranks, to receive, load, and return the Rifles to the front Ranks. The artillery was placed & served advantageously. Soon after daylight the Pickets were driven in by the Enemy's advance. The fog clearing away the Enemy was discovered at 400 yards distant in columns—they halted, threw off their knapsacks, gave three cheers & rapidly advanced. The cannonade had commenced on both sides and the Troops were preceded by Rockets & hand Grenades—as soon as the Enemy came within 100 yards a murderous fire commenced from the Riflemen each man taking deliberate aim, and with unerring certainty giving Effect to his fire. Each man discharged his Piece & without moving his eyes from the Enemy handed back his Gun and received a loaded one ; and in this manner without any order than to be cool and sure of their mark, the two first lines repeated an uninterrupted and most destructive fire for an hour and a half ; during which the Enemy, often renewing his attempts, persisted in his assault.—He finally gave up the attempt, retreated in confusion, having in killed and wounded the flower of his army including many, and a disproportionate Number, of Officers upon the field ; nearly two thousand muskets were taken by our people, in front of their lines, thrown away or left by the Enemy ; a supply of great importance as owing to the Detention of the Boats carrying the arms, between one & two thousand of the Militia were without arms. The dead and wounded were

many of them perforated by from two to four Rifle Balls. Pakenham, Comr in chief, was killed, Gibbs also the second in command, and Keene badly wounded. The correspondence between Jackson & the Enemy, who asked & rec'd permission to bury his dead, was carried on by Lambert said to be 4th in command. The Enemy passed over the Mississippi the morning of this attack about 600 men in boats which were dragged thro' a canal which they dug from Lake Borgne to the Mississippi. The Militia on the right bank behaved ill & fled.—A Reinforcement was sent over by Jackson, but before they advanced agt. the Enemy, he reembarked, recrossed & joined the Enemy after his defeat. At 50 miles below N. O. is a Fort on the left Bank of the River called St. Philips, a strong closed work, with casemates, and bomb proof magazines. The Enemy crossed the Bar with their Bomb vessels, attacked the Fort, and after two Days incessant bombardment, during which they threw more than 1000, 13½ inch Shells into the Fort, with the loss of only two men, they abandoned the attempt to pass it, never having come within the range of the 32 Pounders, which were prepared with proper furnaces, and under the command of Major Covington with about 500 Regulars, to have made them feel the Power of his Fortress. This Day week we received the official account of the repulse of the Enemy on the 8th of January but nothing from Fort St Philips except accounts from N. O., that an incessant Cannonade had been heard for two or three days in that Quarter. The injury sustained by the enemy in his attempt to carry Jackson's works was so great that we had no apprehension of his repeating it, or if he sh'd that he wd. succeed; but if the Bomb Ketches and other armed vessels shd. pass the Forts, and come up, so as to attack the City, some anxiety existed still for the safety of the City. To day all further anxiety has been removed. Dispatches from Jackson are received, stating the failure of the attempt to pass Fort St. Philips, and the reembarkation of the mutilated Remnant of the British army. Here-with you have a copy of a letter from Jackson to a member of the Senate announcing this important Conclusion of the British Expedition. We hope that this failure will hasten the conclusion of Peace. Since you left us no other important Event has occurred. The offer of our Ministers to make Peace upon the Status ante Bellum, laying aside every maritime,

or other Subjects on account of which the War was declared ; and the refusal of this offer & demand of a Portion of our Territory by the Enemy, produced a union and Decision which no other Event would have effected. Many among us were dissatisfied with the Declaration of War, but when the Govt. offers to return to Peace upon the terms which have been stated and these are refused by the Enemy, who attempts to dismember us, we all say war must be continued until more just and moderate—and as we also think—who have no unreasonable opinion about England,—a more politick Policy prevails there. If England continues the War on this ground, I am at no loss to foresee events which she has not anticipated ; if from our peaceful habits she converts us, as she will do, into a Military People—and perhaps on the earth no People could more easily be converted into a Soldiery actuated by the highest Military Enthusiasm,—neither our neighbors on the East, nor the West will remain in security. I have heard that 150 or 200 Vacancies in the lowest Military Grade of the army exist at this time, and so extended is the passion, that between two and three thousand applications have been made, including all the States and, as is said, the best educated youths of the Country to obtain appointments. Perhaps the applications for the Station of Midshipman is comparatively equally, or more, numerous. But we desire Peace, and tho' we may lament the loss of the brave Enemy who fell before our gallant Peasantry, we have some Consolation in hoping that the Discomfiture will hasten the Return of Peace.

Your family were all well on the 9th ; your mother has had more, & better health this winter, than she has had for several years. We are now beginning to experience some relaxation of the unusual & intense Frost that has prevailed here, indeed it seems to have been extended over all the States, for such was the intensity of the Frost even in N. Orleans towards the close of the year, that the Creeks were frozen over, and the two Regiments of Black Troops, which came with Pakenham and landed on the Island of N. Orleans with the Enemy, are said to have suffered severely, so much so as to be almost incapable of service.

Farewell my dear Sir I am &.

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1815.

DEAR SIR:

I am indebted to you for more than one friendly Letter, the Receipt of which I have hitherto omitted to acknowledge. This has in part arisen from my having been of late a good deal engaged in the business of the Senate, and in part from the great importance of the subject of your last Letter. Here we have been struggling without avail to defeat a dangerous Bank Project, which, after all our efforts, yesterday by force of Executive Influence passed the Senate by a majority of two votes; one of our friends being casually absent, the real majority was only one. The Fate of the Bill is uncertain in the H. of R.

I am sensible, truly sensible of and deeply regret the difference of opinion existing between good Men, respecting the leading course of Policy, which ought to be pursued by the Federalists. Concerning the views and character of the men, who have brought the Country into its actual difficulties, we are all agreed; it is about the course, which should be followed to extricate us from these difficulties, that we disagree.

If by a strenuous opposition, ending in the refusal of supplies of every kind, our Rulers could be driven from their posts, and abler men called to fill them, a practical and intelligible object would be before us; and provided it could be accomplished, without exposing the Country to the vengeance of the Enemy or to the danger that by our divisions, he might be able to dismember and degrade us, united and persevering opposition would become an obvious duty. But with the present Executive, with a Senate composed as the Senate is & will be for years to come; and with such a House of Reps. as we have & shall have during the next Congress, there can be no expectation of driving these men out of their offices. The Press even is not in such hands, nor is it likely to be so, as will do much in effecting a change of popular prejudices.

In England a majority of the House of Commons can remove the Ministry—in effect, can change the Executive Government. There the refusal of supplies immediately produces a revolution in the Executive Government—not so here. According to our theory, all political power is in the hands of the people, and until

they choose to dismiss their Chiefs, no considerable change can be made. Reason and wisdom can do little to effect this object.

The People must feel the inconvenience, & suffer the punishment, of their own folly, before they will consent to renounce it. The ruin of their business and the burthen of Taxes, which their favorites have accomplished, may prove a salutary corrective, which may weaken their attachment to one set of politicians and their aversion to another. Until this case be effected, we shall go on as we have done, or plunge still deeper, as we are likely to do, should the country hold on in its present course.

Moreover the Enemy is guilty of the utmost folly. His warfare is licentious, and he discloses objects, in respect to our Territory, which furnish our Rulers with arguments against the opposition, and in favor of their supporters, which, when addressed to the People, are irresistible.

In these circumstances & with these views, after careful deliberation, in which the dissenting opinions of able men were allowed the respect and deference to which they are always entitled, it has appeared to me, that I had but one course ; which was to avow a firm purpose to defend the Country against the invasion of the Enemy, and to concur in granting the necessary supplies for this object. By doing so, we establish a right to hold the Executive and its Departments answerable for the degradation of the public credit, the failure of the military expenditures, and above all for declaring a war, whose objects are abandoned, and the expenses of which, can only be defrayed by heavy and durable Taxes upon the People.

Furthermore that course which exhibits union *in defence* of the Country, has seemed to me to be more likely than any other, to influence the Enemy to consent to a speedy and equal Peace. An honorable Peace we cannot demand—having already abandoned every object, for the attainment of which we declared the war : but a Peace leaving to us the same Rights of Soil and Sovereignty, which we possessed before the war—will be a safe Peace & one that will not humiliate us.

Entertaining these views in common with the principal men of our Party here, I have deemed it to be expedient to be open and unreserved in the avowal of them. I explain myself to you my Dear Sir, not to invite discussion upon the Subject, although I

am always benefitted by your opinions and habitually cherish for them an unfeigned respect, but for the purpose of opening to you my reasons for the course of policy which I am pursuing in these critical times.

With sincere attachment & Regard, I am Dear Sir,
yr. friend & faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO G. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, February 15, 1815.

DEAR SIR:

We have received the Treaty of Peace * : it will be considered by the Senate tomorrow. As the Instructions sent to Ghent renounced, or did not insist upon, any Provision in favor of the objects for which war was declared, no one is authorized to expect more than the Status ante Bellum. Should the Enemy consent to evacuate and restore the whole terra firma of the District of Maine, Massachusetts will not perhaps complain if in the end she loses Moose Island—in one sense only is it of much consequence—should the Enemy keep it, there will be left to Mass. no practicable Channel from St. Croix to the Ocean, except for small vessels. It is said the Coast Fisheries, according to the Eng. interpretation, were not vested Rights, but merely Privileges of the First Peace, and lost by the following war.

If a Treaty be concluded making no provision about impressment, and other Maritime rights, about which so much has been said & written ; and especially if the security of these interests were the object of the war ; some persons would infer that no future complaint or war could be made respecting them : the Law of Nations being, not that a Peace is perpetual as respects future causes of war, but that it is so concerning every interest or claim, to obtain or secure which the war is made.†

I am very faithfully yr. ob. sr.

RUFUS KING.

* The news of the signature of a treaty of peace was received on February 11th, and the treaty was sent to the Senate on the 15th.

† The treaty has been approved by the Senate. Your conjectural remarks in the *Post* of the 13th, as to the contents of the treaty, are most likely correct. There is no stipulation saving to the United States the privilege of the fisheries—

G. Morris to R. King.

Morrisania, Feb. 16, 1815.

Dear Sir :

I thank you for yours of the 12th just arrived. I should not discuss the Subject of it even were the present Circumstances such as those under which you wrote. That would be worse than useless. As matters now stand, whatever has been done is done and the Consequences will follow in their own Course without Impediment or Deviation from what we may do or attempt. I think the Administration will lay another Trap ; for I calculate, alike on their Craft and Immorality. The treaty of Peace was I suppose laid before the Senate on the 14th or 15th and agreed to, of Course, whatever may be the Terms. No important Cession of Territory has, I presume, been made or seriously demanded ; it being a Matter understood among the great Powers that Britain should not acquire additional Strength in this Hemisphere. For Reasons of a similar Kind she will not have withheld the Permission formerly granted to fish on the Great Bank ; neither is it improbable that the Privilege of fishing along her Coasts may be continued on certain Conditions. Lord Castlereagh may have supposed, from what passed in the Boudoirs of Vienna, that Selden's Mare Clausum is a treatise too pedantic for the taste of fashionable people. Should there unfortunately, be any Clause, Matter, or Thing in the Treaty liable to objection, and should federal Senators have objected, we shall be charged with a desire to prolong the war ; or should they not have objected, with the Sacrifice of National Honor : but this Dilemma is not the Trap to which I allude. Be not surprized at a Proposal to relinquish the direct Tax. It comports with southern Interest and Policy. Federal opposition will be a deadly weapon in the Hands of

no stipulation saving to the British the navigation of the Mississippi, nor anything relative to the causes for which the war was declared. It is understood that when the treaty was under consideration in the Senate Mr. King, in a speech of about forty minutes, pointed out the great blessings of the present war in a style of biting satire scarcely ever equalled. Every sentence was Cantharides to the already blistered feelings of the administration.—Correspondent of N. Y. *Evening Post*, Feb. 14, 1815.

their Adversaries. Say what you will of public Faith, moral Right and constitutional Policy; Talk if you please in Latin Greek or Hebrew; publish Discourses in English Syriac or Coptic Characters, No one will listen, no one will read. But all will eagerly catch and greedily swallow the plain democratic Proposition "Gentlemen Electors, it was with extreme Reluctance, under the Pressure of dire Necessity, that we laid a direct Tax; and as soon as that Pressure was removed we proposed to take it off; but those accursed Federalists, who delight in oppressing the People insisted on its Continuance." This plain Proposition, I say, will be understood felt and acted upon, any Cause Matter or thing to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Adieu

I am as ever truly yours

Gouv. Morris.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Emott to King—Rejoices at the Peace—Troubles in New York Legislature—King to Gore—Inability to do Good suggests Wisdom of retiring from public Life—Gore to King—Wishes to leave the Senate—Conversation with Cabot on the Hartford Convention—Peace in Boston—Gore to King—No Plan by Parties in Massachusetts—King to Trumbull—Affairs at Home and Abroad—King to Gore—Hanson's Paper and Affairs—Accommodations for Winter at Washington—Opinion relative to Dartmoor—What the Fate of Bonaparte—Harison to King—Compares Case of Mettus Tuffetius with that of Napoleon—C. King to King—Account of the Dartmoor Investigation—Gore to King—Dartmoor Report—Gratified by the manly Character and Decision of the Statement—Changes of Men at Washington—Lafayette to King—Introducing St. Jean d'Angely.

James Emott to R. King.

Albany, Feb. 19, 1815.

Dear Sir:

I have now the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 11th of February. It will be gratifying to me to hear from you as frequently as your other avocations and your leisure will permit, for to say the truth to you, my other friends at Washington are so much engaged, or have become so idle, that I can learn nothing but at second and third and fourth hand. We were prepared to hear of the retreat or the capture of the British at New Orleans after their terrible discomfiture on the 8th of January. Now that the expedition is over it appears to have been commenced and carried on in folly. The notice given, the delay and the want of prompt measures had a mutual and a strong tendency to a disastrous termination. I confess that what I have seen of the British in our war has lessened the government and the people in my estimation. It is no more to me a dreadful and dreaded nation. They can be met and they can be conquered. They have terminated the war at a point when this has become the sentiment of our Statesmen and nation, and they have given

a direction to public opinion on the subject of a navy which will bear it up. I rejoice at the peace because we wanted it; but I plainly foresee that at no very distant time we shall have another English war, when with a more vigorous administration and an army and navy in fact, and to commence with, the British must be driven from the continent, if not from this quarter of the globe. The President I presume is highly delighted with the peace, as it will allow him to slumber out the residue of his term in a state of comparative ease and quiet; but how do the wildmen of the west relish a treaty that is not garnished with free trade and sailor's rights and withal does not provide for the extinction of the Indians and the assumption of the "uppermost" Canadas? The southerners I presume have had enough of the war for this time. Is it possible to conjecture how the peace is to affect the great parties in this country? The opinion here appears to be, among our friends of course, that the first effect of the news will be to paralize both parties but that in the end it will aid the good old cause.

The democratic party commenced the session in passion, I mean among themselves, and they have progressed in passion. The first measure of importance, and it became really a question of importance, was the election of a continental Senator. Spencer had secretly, for some time, been a candidate to further Armstrong's views on the Presidency and Sandford was finally fixed on as the Tompkins candidate, for he, God help us, has also an eye on the Presidency. After several caucusses by the members, Spencer grew timid and declined, but he remembered the opposition and the two parties are now in a steady course of oppugnation. Van Buren who opposed Spencer was kept in great doubt about the office of Attorney General, on which he had fastened his wishes, and finally was appointed by the casting vote of the Governor. Young, the Speaker who was promised and expected the office of Secretary, but which he was by no means entitled to, was completely thrown out and Porter, who was not known as a candidate, was appointed. The Council have not yet touched New York, and an opinion is prevailing that Clinton will keep his place, the Tammany men to the contrary notwithstanding. The Council are known to stand two and two.

I am with unfeigned respect
Your obed. Sert. JAMES EMOTT.

J. Emott to R. King.

Albany, February 22, 1815.

Dear Sir :

We join with you and with all good men in thanks to the Almighty for restoring peace to the country. We are indeed the brand plucked from the fire. Another year of war and misrule might have brought our tottering edifice to the ground. As it is, it may last a little longer and perhaps through our day. The Treaty is such a thing as was to have been expected from men who made war to keep themselves in power and who went suing for peace for the same purpose. The country and its character and interest are nothing to them as long as they can preserve place and patronage. Had Madison and Monroe the feeling of honorable men their blood would tingle to their fingers' ends ; they would clothe themselves in sackcloth and ashes for the sufferings and situation of the nation. But they have not such feelings. If they can persuade our countrymen to banish from their councils, and their hearts the men who would guide them to prosperity and happiness, and prevail upon them to continue their misplaced confidence in the men who lord it over us, they will be satisfied come what will to the country. The articles in the treaty for settlement of our boundaries will I think in future times be referred to as curiosities not precedents. Two adverse commissioners are to be appointed, who will of course disagree and then we are to have the umpirage of a friendly power who is to decide on a case to be stated. What friendly power is to be the power is a subject for another Treaty to be made by five more commissioners, and of consequence we are as we were. Nothing is doing here of any consequence and the Session will probably be one of little interest, tho' if the war had continued we should have gone into high matters and done strange deeds. Tomorrow it is understood the council will proceed to appoint a Mayor for New York when I have no doubt Ferguson will succeed to Clinton by the casting vote of the governor. As a nursery and school for our navy, I should have no objection to an Algerine, or a Japanese war. But when the maritime nations of Europe will consent to pay what our people are pleased to call tribute, and when a naval armament, to be kept up in the Mediterranean, where we have no possessions, will amount to so much more than the sum

we have been in the habit of paying, the wisest course appears to be to continue to pay on the principle which induces other nations to pay. But if we have no other war, we shall have a war with experience, and prudence.

With great respect, I am yours very truly,

JAMES EMOTT.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Mar. 21, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Having had a quiet, and uninterrupted day or two here, I have endeavored to revise, and pass over again, the occupations in which during the three last sessions we have been engaged—and I am obliged to confess, that the result of this process is discouragement, and humiliation—We have had a full opportunity to observe and to approach the course and character of our political System,—and when the question is asked, to what good purpose do a few impartial and worthy men toil and weary themselves in the public service, does the only Reply that can be given afford encouragement to them to persevere?—rather does it not admonish them to retire from scenes, which they cannot improve, and where they behold more clearly the degradation, and the shameless corruption of their Country? But enough of this. . . .

I am my Dr. Sir. faithfully yrs.

R. K.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Apr. 11, 1815.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . It appears that Governor Strong will be elected by a handsome Majority, tho' considerably diminished from that of last year. The Senate will possess but a bare Majority of Federalists. The Govt. of the State will be federal this year, but appearances indicate another Result, the succeeding year—This, with the Difficulty of procuring suitable accommodations, although at an enormous expense, leads me to question the obligations, or prudence of another visit to Washington.—I know no inducement, to risque the

chance of being obliged to go there more than one Session, and should the Legislature be democratic another year, the obligation to prevent the election of a Senator of that Party would be considered by others, if not by myself imperious. . . . I have been in town only twice since my return & have had no particular conversation with any one. The chief, you know, is at N. Hampton. I know no time when every one appeared to receive me with more respect or cordiality. Mr. Cabot, so soon as he knew I was at Mr. Payne's Office, came to me, and laughed very heartily at his going to Hartford, and says he was prevailed upon to take the journey, merely because they declared an absolute determination, in all men of any standing in the community not to go, unless he went, and that a measure of the Sort, was necessary to allay the ferment and prevent a crisis, in the hope of something occuring to change the state of affairs. He expressed his unaltered conviction, that the worst of evils would be a dissolution of the Union, and all the good which could arise from the Convention would be, in case of a total failure of all the powers of the Federal Govt. that a sort of organized body would be in existence, which might attempt to provide for the exigencies of the moment, and that all their endeavors were to avoid doing anything. This Conversation was frequently interrupted by persons coming in & entering into the talk, and on the whole my reflection is, at present, that they had no views, but to avoid immediate peril, in the possibility that chance might relieve them. He thought ill of sending the Commission to Washington, and this, as I inferred, from the idea that the measure was calculated to hasten, & promote what wisdom & prudence would delay & repress. It is not impossible, some one at least of the actors imagined a state of things had arisen, which might be improved to waft him into places of great power & distinction and that these phantoms were continually playing before his imagination. I think it probable that future opportunities will afford a more distinct view of their plans & objects if they had any—To obtain peace on any terms seems to have been the great desideratum, and I think it not unlikely, if the war had continued, some rash and unadvisable step would have been taken—The evening before the news of Peace reached Boston there was a meeting of several of the influential leaders in the Legislature, at the house of the Chief, to discuss & consider

the propriety of adopting some legislative resolution, declaring the willingness of the State to accede to the desire of G. B., for a road between N. B. & Quebec.—Fortunately no conclusion was adopted. The people of Maine have it constantly sounding in their ears, that the Federalists were willing to cede their Country to the Enemy, and, however disposed to such an Event were the inhabitants, & especially the Democrats, the odium of such a Disposition will be thrown altogether on their opponents, and will, I fear give them, the Democrats, the ascendancy. The Democrats affect to consider the Peace as the fruit of Madison's wisdom, and every occurrence of the war, which was honourable to the character of the individual and the more so, as having been produced without the aid of Government, as entirely resulting from the abilities & exertions of the Admoñ.

Yours truly, C. GORE.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Apr. 24, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I hear nothing from Georgetown or Washington, relative to our Accommodations next Winter. I should not be satisfied to go to one of the mixed lodging Houses & make a joint mess with the multitude, and I do not perceive, where we are to pitch our tent. If I decline, it ought to be this June and as I know nothing, that will tempt me to risque incurring the obligation to visit Washington every Session until 1821, I shall, unless the prospect be very clear of a federal Majority, in Massachusetts, next election, resign before the close of the Session of the Legislature which will end in March next—Under existing circumstances, I should prefer to go the next Winter if we can be accommodated tolerably well.

The Newspapers say Virginia will be as bad as the last Congress, and all of the old Delegation, who chose to be reelected, will be gratified. North Carolina will probably follow in the same course. The policy & measures of the Government will, therefore, continue as for years past.

I do not perceive any strong reason for believing in any great & immediate changes in Massachusetts. The Election for Rep-

resentatives, which will be soon taking place, will show more distinctly the bearing of Parties, on the doings of last Winter. I am forced to this conclusion, that no definite view or plan, was either conceived or marked out by any one. A general dissatisfaction was prevalent, and the leaders knew not how either to direct or oppose it, and were yet desirous of keeping a hold on this temper, that, if occasion occurred, it might be improved to advantage. Their conduct appears to have been inconsequential &, in some instances, contradictory to what little of plan they seem to have entertained. They wished for and expected the destruction of the ruinous policy of the Govt. and considered what would follow either a continuance of the war, or a disgraceful Peace ; yet they urged the making Peace on any terms, and by Legislative Resolutions would, within a few days, had they not received the Treaty, have avowed a willingness to have Peace at the sacrifice of a portion of this State's Territory.

Many think if the war had continued, we should have been cured of our follies, yet all see & feel the relief that Peace affords—No great business is doing, but the little which is done gives an appearance of life where stillness and death seemed alone to triumph.—Stores are wanted at the Peace prices, and a new wharf, is to be immediately built between Indian and Long Wharf, and the stores, fifty in number, are all engaged,—whether this be a fortunate speculation, time alone can show. . . .

Yours faithfully,

C. GORE.

R. KING TO J. TRUMBULL.

JAMAICA, L. I., May 22, 1815.

DEAR SIR :

It is a long time since I have heard, or recd. letters from you. As I have recd. no letters from Charles, I know not whether you have relinquished your thoughts of visiting us, or still persist. Since about the middle of March we have been *peaceably* at home. The season hitherto has been cold and the progress of vegetation uncommonly retarded. Today it is warm. Having been in town and heard that a vessel sails tomorrow for England, I cannot omit the opportunity of recalling ourselves to you and Mrs. Trumbull's

recollection. In public affairs since peace again has been restored to us, as I have reason to hope not again soon to be exiled, we must look to the old world for extraordinary events; in which it seems to be yet fruitful. We are ignorant of the course which the allies will pursue. If Bonaparte continues at the head of the French nation, Europe must expect the repetition of the same deeds that have desolated her during the last twenty years. As you will conclude we are all solicitude for decisive information of the course that Eng. and the other allies shall pursue.

Of the opinions in France, I scarcely think it worth while to enquire, France is ruled by the sword; and those whose profession is plunder and violence call for rulers and leaders who are attached to, and masters of, the business. The poor Bourbons were without the means, as they seem to have been without the talents, to rule the country.

That the chief should have been disposed of, as he was; that he was placed in a situation quite convenient to hold the necessary intercourse with France, and to keep alive the hopes of his associates there, was not the measure of the Bourbons. They neither chose it nor could they change it.

You can be at no loss to decide upon our opinions and wishes in this country. Those who desire peace and the enjoyment of national independence, the progress of the arts and the extension of human happiness, regret an event which menaces these inestimable blessings.

But I relinquish these topics and with best respects to Mrs. T., in which we all unite, I remain, my dear Sir, with sincere attachment, yr. faithful Servt.

R. K.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, L. I., July 22, 1815.

My dear Sir:

. . . I have recd. as I believe I have before mentioned to you, a letter from Hanson* on the subject concerning which you

* The reference in this letter is to Mr. Alexander Hanson of Maryland, who was the Proprietor and editor of the *Federal Republican*, a newspaper of which the publication was begun in Baltimore in 1812, and in which he had fearlessly denounced the Government for declaring war. This course had caused the

had one or two conferences with him—He is very much mortified and dissatisfied—appears to entertain strong resentment agt. Mason, suspects Webster & Easton, conceives that he has been unfairly treated, that his standing and character are struck at, and that his own & family's ruin is aimed at. It is more than probable that his pecuniary affairs have been neglected ; that while his expenses have been certain and great in circulating his paper, the income has been far short of what it shd. have been, and would have been under the direction of a man, who understood the value

riots in Baltimore in July, 1812 (see p. 352 of this volume). Driven away from there, he resumed at once the publication in Georgetown, D. C., and continued a strong and outspoken opponent to the measures of the administration. During the last session of Congress the opinions he advocated had caused dissensions between him and many of his political associates in that body, of which he also was a member from Maryland. As a consequence he deemed it advisable to dispose of his paper, "to preserve concord and harmony," though he would not like it "to pass into hands which might misapply such an engine." Among others consulted as to the advisability of selling it, he wrote to Mr. King, a warm personal friend, who in a letter of May 28th to him, while assuring him of a hearty concern in all that affects him & his estimable family, says :

"Of your zeal, your disinterested views and correct principles I have the most entire conviction : of your devotedness to these principles no proofs are wanting; for the honor of our country they are already too strong. The injury done to your property has been great ; and further sacrifices, should they be necessary, no one seems to have a right to call upon you to make. I know that you can never compromise your well settled opinions, and I am mistaken if, at this period of your life, you can much abate in your laudable zeal to explain them ; still the interest of your own independence and the comfort of a beloved family ought not to be neglected. I am not insensible to the personal esteem and confidence which you have so obligingly manifested towards me, and on this account, had I no other or more laudable motive, I should be unwilling that my opinion should for a moment retard the adoption of any measure that should in your opinion be likely to prove advantageous to you.

"If I do not misread the future, new public difficulties are soon to occur ; and unless they shall be properly met and disposed of, the consequences may be ruinous to the country. Dallas' management of the Treasury is alarming. Projects seem to be contemplated which in any state of our foreign affairs will be dangerous to public and private credit.

"Poor Thomas' death would at any period have been thought a great public loss ; in the present crisis it is a national calamity. God grant that it may not prove the forerunner of still greater afflictions.

"With great respect & esteem &c.,

"RUFUS KING."

of money, and who would bestow the proper care on the money department. Any one who knows Hanson, must know that he has feelings and sentiments which disqualify him for that sort of attention wh. is indispensable in collecting the annual subscriptions. Since the death of Thomas, Hanson thinks his political friends in his own State have been shy of him. To a meeting of the leaders held some time since, preparatory to the fall Election, Hanson alone of the fedl. members of Congress, was omitted in the invitation ; this has increased his dissatisfaction ; he talks of declining a re-election, and of selling his paper at auction &c &c &c. In my answer to his Letter, I took pains to soothe his feelings, but declined any agency respecting the disposal of his paper. From all this we can expect nothing respecting quarters from Hanson, who has not been in Washington or Georgetown since he left it soon after us. I thought of writing to Mr. Senator Anderson ; but to have what you want, those you employ shd themselves require like accommodations ; I therefore have written to Mr. Bowie of Georgetown, explaining what we want, expressing a preference for Georgetown, and of a private house to a public one—two good bed rooms, with fire places, drawing & dining rooms, separate table for four persons, accommodations for four or five white servants, coach house & stable for ten horses—coal fires preferable to wood one, &c &c. Fire, candles, horsefeed, everything, excepting liquors to be supplied—I desired Mr. Bowie to give me the result of his enquiry, with the price which would be required of us per week. Not recollecting Bowie's name, I inclosed the Letter to Anderson, saying that we had thought of troubling him to make inquiries which we had requested Bowie to make. As I understand that the National Intelligencer is permitted to animadvert upon the Report * made by Mr. Larpent & Charles, I added "that some Legislators have thought the Law a severe one, that visits the sins of the father on the children, but it seems that at Washington the jewish rigor in this respect deserves approbation." On the subject of this Report I have no Letters from Charles—nor have we any other information except what has appeared in the News Papers—we ought not perhaps to be obliged to Messrs Clay & Gallatin for their selection ; had they

* Relative to the Dartmoor prison transactions.

employed one of their Secretaries I shd have been as well satisfied. Charles is of too generous a nature to have suspected any fraudulent purpose ; perhaps none was meditated ; the truth is, it was not an affair of Government discussion—it strictly belonged only to the criminal jurisprudence of England. With more years and greater caution Charles wd. perhaps have assented only to a special Report of facts, leaving the rest to inference : this however wd. have defeated the object of the Commission—the occurrence like that of ye. 5th of Mar. is to serve in future times as a topic to criminate Engd. and enflame popular and party feelings : those who are most noisy are least sorry, that the unfortunate men were killed & maimed. Charles left England about the 1st of May for Portugal, and probably did not return to London before the middle of June—of his business no authentic information is recd.; nothing had been decided before he went to Portugal Each successive arrival increases our solicitude respecting the state of Europe. If France does not submit to all the rigors. which her perilous condition calls for, she must be conquered—in other words Bonaparte & the army will be crushed. In case the allies succeed, what is to be Bonapart's fate? What that of his Marshals and the great Leaders who adhere to him ? Whither can they escape, except to this Country ; and can they escape still ? I concur in your sentiments respecting the condition of the Try. Dept. The more confusion and disorder in the currency, the stronger the case, and the more powerful the arguments agt. the issue of a Bank paper money—Should the war in Europe be speedily concluded, I shd. have hopes that we may again defeat a mischievous and cheating National Bank. I look forward with disinclination to the residence at Washington—independent of the inconveniences of the place, my health also has lately suffered, and the attack has been of a sort to make me uncertain respecting its true character—whether it was inflammation of the Kidney, Gravel, or the commencement of those assaults which gradually and painfully finish our course is a matter of uncertainty and of some solicitude. . . .

Faithfully and always yr friend.

R. K.

Rich. Harison to R. King.

New York, July 24, 1815.

Dear Sir:

The case of Mettus Tuffetius, alluded to by Mr. Mason, is in the 27 & 28th Chapters of the first Book of Livy. It is a strong case, and should be considered in connection with the Treaty stated in the 24th Chapter of the same Book. This Treaty preceeded the celebrated Battle between the Horatii and the Curiatii & contained the following Terms. "Cujus Populi Cives eo Certamine vicissent, *is* alteri Populo cum bona Pace imperitaret." The Inhabitants of Alba, therefore after the Victory of the Horatii, became Subjects of Rome: and the punishment of Mettus appears to be founded upon that basis—not upon the Principle of public Law, as between distinct Nations,—Mettus was considered & punished as a traitor & Livy himself treats of the Subject in that Light. How far the Case may be applicable to the existing Case of the great Criminal, is certainly a nice question. *He* once owed Allegiance to the French Monarchy—He had renounced all pretensions to the Crown, & he entered France with the avowed purpose of dethroning the Monarch—why then is he not a traitor & liable to *ultimate* punishment? Believe me, Dr. Sir, with the most sincere Respect your obed Servt. &c.

Rich. Harison.

Charles King to R. King.

Liverpool, 14th Aug., 1815.

My dear Sir:

. . . James informs me that he had read to you on your sick bed, my report of the transaction at Dartmoor,* & that you were

* When the Treaty of Peace was made, there were several thousand American prisoners confined in the prison at Dartmoor in England. They naturally believed that they would soon be released, but were disappointed, and, without blaming their own Government for the delay in this matter, they showed very decided animosity to Mr. Beasley, who was the Commissary of Prisoners. His answer was that the Government had not provided vessels for their transportation home and he had no alternative but to leave them where they were. On the 6th of April there was an attempt on their part, as was charged, to force their way out of the prison; at any rate what appeared to be a mutiny took

satisfied with it. I need not say that no approbation can ever be so valuable to me, after that of my own heart, as yours; and my gratification therefore at learning your opinion on this subject, was in proportion to the value it has in my estimation.

The agency I had in this business was rather forced upon me, than courted by me. Mr. Clay & Mr. Gallatin both reiterated their requests on several occasions, that I would take up the enquiry; adding that, as I was a commercial man & from the northern States, my decision would be most likely to satisfy those more immediately connected with the sufferers on that disastrous occasion. Thus invited, and feeling that perhaps the investigation might be committed to less unbiassed persons, I decided at once to act in the business and trust (the more confidently since you approve) that in the course of it, I neither forgot the loyalty of an American, nor the impartiality of an honest man. In these views I was most amply and honorably seconded by my colleague, Mr. Larpent, whose conduct throughout was most frank and manly and unmarked by either passion or prejudice. As to the report itself, my own judgment and the advice of Mr. Clay pointed

place, the guard was called out, and the prisoners, continuing their riotous proceedings, were fired upon; several were killed and many more wounded.

It was necessary for the British Government to make an examination into the circumstances connected with this sad transaction, and a joint commission, English & American, engaged in the examination. Mr. Larpent and Mr. Charles King were the Commissioners, who, after what they believed to be a faithful investigation of the case, agreed upon a report which sustained the authorities of the prison, under the apparently threatening state of the case. The prisoners denounced this report as untrue in its conclusions as to their intentions or acts, and certainly as to the measures taken to restore quiet. Mr. King in his letter to Mr. Adams, Minister from the U. S. in London, giving a report to him, says (*Natl. Intellr.*, July 14, 1815): "I cannot but express it as my settled opinion, that by conduct a little more temporising, this dreadful alternative of firing upon unarmed prisoners might have been avoided. Yet as this opinion has been the result of subsequent examination, and after having acquired a knowledge of the comparatively harmless state of the prisoners, it may be but fair to consider, whether in such a moment of confusion and alarm, as that appears to have been, the officer commanding could have fairly estimated his danger, or have measured out with precision the extent and nature of the force necessary to guard against it. . . . There was no plea or shadow of excuse, for the general firing which took place afterward, except the personal exasperation of the soldiers." He says he and Mr. Larpent agreed upon this. See *Annals of Congress*, 1815–16, pp. 1506–1600.

out a joint report, if the respective commissioners could agree upon one, as the most proper mode of presenting the business to our Govts., and pending that, the opinion of Mr. Larpent, as well as the instructions he had received from Lord Castlereagh, contemplated the same result. I had no hesitation, upon finding how entirely we concurred in opinion, to adopt that mode; and we, accordingly drew up conjointly the relation, or rather digest of evidence, which you have seen. I am induced principally to mention this, from having been informed, tho' not directly, that Mr. Adams to whom the report was addressed by me, has said, that such a document was wholly uncalled for on my part; that my sole duty was to have taken the examinations and submitted them without any comment to the Government. I cannot help adding my persuasion that Mr. Adams has been led to make this remark from disappointment at not finding in the report itself, as I fear he both wished and expected, any coloring of animosity or prejudice.

As to the style, in a literary sense, of the paper, our aim was to make it short & perspicuous and simple; tho' if we had taken more time and employed more hands to write, for our own were completely tried with taking down innumerable folios of evidence, we could have rendered it more polished, without diminishing either its strength or its simplicity. . . .

Yrs most truly

CHAS. KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Aug. 20., 1815.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Democracy seems to have lost her great high Priest, and I cannot but feel some surprize, that the Leaders, at the seat of Government, should as I understand they do, express so openly, & strongly their regret at the downfall of the Tyrant. Hatred to England seems to be one of the fundamental injunctions of their political constitution, and, on this subject they observe neither the maxims of prudence nor decorum. Their behaviour, as appeared from the Government paper, on the Report relative to Dartmoor Prison, was shameful. Common decency claimed from the Administration, not only an acquiescence, but an unqualified support

of what the two Gentlemen subscribed. We were, here exceedingly gratified, with the manly character & decision of the Statement. Hanson in his letter, discovered evident marks of Dissatisfaction with his federal friends. I much fear, that his pecuniary affairs are in a bad State. He is undoubtedly correct in his conjectures, that the gentlemen to whom he refers are quite discontented with the manner in which his Paper was conducted last Winter. Giles, we understand, is connecting himself with an association, to make a purchase and settlement of some lands, that border on waters, which communicate with the Mobile. It is said, he resigns his seat in the Senate, and intends an early departure for that country. Crawford, I observe takes the place of Secretary, and from this circumstance I infer, perhaps erroneously, that by one Party he is intended as a Candidate for the Chair of Government—Monroe I presume will be the Virginia Candidate.

R. Goldsborough writes me, that the Democratic party in Maryland made overtures to Gen. Smith, for his support, in the ensuing Election. He was disposed to enter with them, provided they would make him some Consideration, by assigning an Office for him. But not considering his services worthy of reward, they declined—He is for sale, but no one is willing to pay the purchase money—Golds. thinks the Federalists will succeed, but the contest supported, as it will be, by the whole force of the Administration, at Washington, will be little short of a civil War. . . .

Ever & faithfully your Friend,

C. GORE.

LAFAYETTE TO R. KING.

PARIS, August 21, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR:

Permit me to introduce you to my former and late Colleague, at 26 years distance, in the French Representative Houses, Regnault-de St. Jean d'Angely. He has in this interval acted an able and eminent political part, chiefly under the imperial government, where he has professed himself my personal friend. Now he finds his name on a Royal list of Proscription and since the chamber of Deputies Has taken in Consideration the kind of impeachment published Against him, he is going to Visit the U. S.—

Much is now said of Conspiracies to recall Napoleon from the Isle of Elba (sic).—I who for one have been opposed to his Government may be allowed to say the Royalists have proved the greatest Conspirators against themselves—Had their Conduct been more Congenial to the progress of knowledge and the Spirit of the Nation, never would it have been possible for Bonaparte to recover a part of his former power—permit me to entreat your kind attentions in favour of the Bearer and friendly remembrance of the writer of these lines, who shall ever be bound to you by every sentiment of regard, gratitude and attachment.

LAFAYETTE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

King to Gore—Commercial Treaty with England—C. King to King—Condition of France—England said to be about taking Florida—W. King to King—Treaty unfavorable to the W. India Trade—King to J. Mason—Condition and Course of Banks—Excessive Issue of Notes destructive to them—King to Gore—Count Survilliers's proposed Residence in America—King to his Son Edward—To practise Law in Ohio—Advice as to his Life and Studies—King to E. King—Commercial Treaty with England—King to E. King—New Year's Letter with Advice—King to E. King—Branch of National Bank better at Chillicothe—Henderson to King—Harbor on Lake Ontario—Dallas's Plan of a Bank not approved—C. King to King—Commercial Treaty liked in England—Van Ness to King—Affairs in Albany—Irregularity in Election Returns gives Majority to Democrats in the Assembly—Dwight to King—Federalists must secure New York—Coleman's Sketch of King.

R. King to C. Gore.

August 29, 1815.

My dear Sir:

. . . From him [his son Charles, then in London] we learn that the treaty of Commerce provides for the *Equalization* of Duties, by which I understand that Goods imported or exported shall pay like Duties in the Ships of both Countries; that no prohibition of the Goods or Manufactures of one shall be made by the other unless such prohibition extend to the like Goods & Manufactures of all other Countries; in other words that we shall pass no non-importation Laws. The East Ind. Trade to *be as heretofore;* voyages to the E. Ind. to be circuitous or direct.—The Wt. Ind. Trade to be also *as heretofore* subject to proclamation of admission & exclusion—whether, by "*as heretofore*" in respect to the East Ind. Trade, be meant according to Mr. Jay's treaty, I am at a loss.—No provision whatsoever about captures, spoliations &c, or concerning impressment, is contained

in the treaty.—Whether it contains articles concerning blockades & contraband is not mentioned in Charles' Letter. If existing Duties on Goods imported into the Br. Dominions remain, I fear that New Hampshire & Maine will be great sufferers. When I adjusted the countervailing Duties under Mr Jay's treaty, the Duties on Potash, Lumber, Masts, Timber, &c. were the same as these articles imported from Canada & Nova Scotia. You know, that they have, since we commenced our war of commercial regulations, been increased, and as I recollect are higher than the Duties on the like articles imported into G. B. from Norway, Sweden & elsewhere. If these Duties remain these articles cannot be carried to English Markets either in Br. or Amer. Ships—the Treaty is limited to four years. If I recollect the expression in one of Charles' Letters the difference of Duties on cotton &c is to cease as soon as Laws shall be passed in the two Countries abolishing all discrimination—perhaps our Law on the subject, passed the last session, may dispense with the convening of Congress earlier than the constitutional day ; but in this case, a session of the Senate will be necessary at an early day. I suspect our Envoys have made a miserable Treaty ; but we must wait to see it, before we condemn it—Dallas is every day shewing his rashness & incapacity—the subject of our Currency is a most serious one.

Affectionately yrs
RUFUS KING.

C. KING TO R. KING.

LIVERPOOL, 3d Oct., 1815.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . France is a prey to every sort of division in parties & interests, and altho' it is for the present, I believe, decided that her territory shall remain entire, the allies retaining for a certain number of years her frontier towns, I fear if the discordant feelings of her various population are not soon moulded into something like union, that the greedy powers of her neighbourhood, and above all, Prussia, will effect a partition of her Territory. G. Britain has uniformly, it is understood, opposed any such partition ; and upon the whole, this nation has acquired

great credit, since the decisive battle of Waterloo, for the moderation, as well of her military, as of her diplomatic, agents. Towards us alone, I think, there exists no great feeling of amity; at least in the people; and I do not understand what object this country can have in taking possession, as it is said she is about to do, of the Floridas, unless it be for the purpose of retaining an undue influence over the Indians bordering our territory; and to have a sort of command upon the commerce of the bay of Mexico. If it shall, as I presume it will, be deemed necessary for us to acquiesce for the present, in such a surrender, on the part of Spain, of this territory, we must, I think, at some not distant period, appropriate it to ourselves. It is impossible to form any idea for the present of what may be the result of the insurrection into which the execrable tyranny of Ferdinand, has driven a portion of his suffering people. But all honest men, I believe, hope here for one result, the total overthrow of such a bigot as Ferdinand has proved himself to be. . . . Ever with great truth &c.

CHAS. KING.

W. KING TO R. KING.

BATH, Oct. 9, 1815.

DEAR SIR:

. . . It was expected on the part of the Merchants generally in this section of the Country, that the Senate would have been convened by this time to consider the treaty; and it is as generally a subject of regret that it has not been the case. I fear we shall not be as well situated in relation to the Lumber Business as we formerly were; it is not expected that there has been any stipulation in relation to the West India trade, in which case the English calculate to do the whole business themselves—this must be prevented, it has already got up quite an excitement; the Merchants will not rest satisfied to have this business exclusively conducted by the British—I wish this subject to have your usual consideration, and that you may be prepared when Congress meets to bring forward such measures as will have a tendency to place this Colonial business on an equitable and satisfactory footing. I will state to you very concisely my impressions on this subject. No article the growth, produce, or manufacture of any Nation or

Colony should be imported into this Country, from which place an American Vessel could not import the same article. A measure of this kind would I think open the English W. India Colonies to the Americans. If it did not I should think all foreign Vessels on leaving this Country with Cargoes should give Bonds that no part of their Cargoes should be landed at any place where an American Vessel could not land the same articles. . . .

W. KING.

R. KING TO JEREMIAH MASON.

JAMAICA, L. I., Nov. 2, 1815.

DEAR SIR:

I last evening recd. your letter of the 12th. I have some acquaintance with the Conditions and views of the Bks. in our city and though I have no particular information concerning the Bks. southward of us, my apprehensions are much the same as respect them all. Mr. Burke has remarked that all men professing unlimited and discretionary power tending to their own advantage abuse it, and we are not to expect a miraculous interposition to alter the laws of nature. To be sure there has been a commendable moderation which would have been more considerable in the administration of our City Bks. if they had unitedly rejected the projects of Dallas. In Penn., Maryd. & the Dist. of Columbia the Bks. seem to have imposed no restraint on themselves; their issues have been excessive and their profits indispose them to resume a better course. By an agreement between our City Bks., they are pledged to each other and to the Public that their Debits shd not exceed their respective Capitals and sixty per Cent. additional; that such of them as owed more than this sum should reduce their debts within that limit and that the Debtor Bks. should pay to the creditor Bks. six per Cent. interest on their weekly balances. The interest is paid but I doubt whether the Bks., which at their stoppage owed more than the limited Ratio, have diminished their Debt, and have some reason to believe that the aggregate debt at the foregoing epoch has been increased, though not exceeding five or six per Cent. According to a supplement and late agreement the Debtor Bks. are severally pledged to reduce their Debts to the Creditor Bks. to $400,000 each before the first of January. To effect this they must sell funded Debt

or Treasury notes, exceeding a million and a half of Dollars. This would depress the stock market, and be attended with loss to the settlers, a circumstance sufficient to deter them from doing it. Some of the Bks. desire to return to the old system, others of them do not wish it even, and I think I risk nothing in expressing an opinion, that the Paper circulation will be persisted in. If its discontinuance be left to the Bks., wh. do not pay their notes in specie, Congress may arrest the mischief of this State of things, by passing laws to establish a Bk. on the only correct Principles and providing that the Revenue shall be receivable only in specie, or the notes of Bks. which pay their notes in specie, the Paper system vanishes. The currency, bad as it is, cannot preserve its present credit; unless the public have satisfactory evidence of the probable Resumption of Specie Payments it will become worse and as the States can pass no laws protecting the Bks. against their Creditors, the further depreciation of their notes will stop their circulation. Suits will be instituted ag't the Bks.; one decision had and the bubble bursts. Whether Congress will establish a National Bk. on the only true plan you are as able as I am to determine; if they do not, I am pursuaded that the excessive issue of Bank notes must put an end to their circulation. I have no expectation of leaving home for Washington before the 6th or 7th of Decr. By late accts from Mr. Gore I am uncertain whether his health will be such as will allow him to undertake the journey. I should like well enough to be present at the Discussion of the commercial Convention with Engd. If those who made it so far as it is made are gratified, let it become a law. The Currency is in my opinion the most important subject that will require our attention and exertions—and we shall be there in time to hear and be heard concerning it.

With very sincere respect & esteem I am my Dr. Sir yr. ob. & faithful

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Nov. 4, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Our family is all well—On Wednesday Mr. Gracie gave a Breakfast to the Count Survilliers, alias J. B.; the Count St. Jean

D'Angely and three or four young Frenchmen came with the great Personage,—John & James, with one or two Gentlemen of the City were invited. I also was present—he appeared to be under 50 yrs of age, mild in his manners and discreet in his conversation—He expects his wife & daughters in the Spring—is making enquiries respecting the Country with the view of selecting a situation for an Establishment—asked me a few Questions on this subject concerning situations that had been recommended to him. I replied that it seemed to me that the expedient course wd be to defer any present decision, to see for himself, to pass some time, at least the four seasons, before he fixed himself. He spoke of the distracted state of Fr. ; the elements were there confounded ; the Duke d'Artois & the Duchess D'Angoulême were Bigots, and earnest to restore absolutely the antient Regime ; the King, the best of his family, but without the men about him who could supply the defect of 25 years absence. So far as we can ascertain the new Legislative Body will be of the stamp of the Duchess D'Angoulême—if so the proscribed list will have but little chance of being allowed to return to France. Certainly the condition of France is most humiliating—and the King, whose return is identified with the present mortification of the Nation, must wear a Crown of Thorns. A day or two after the arrival of the Ct. S., he made a little excursion in the neighbourhood of the City, and strolled into Mr. Gracie's Grounds. The family invited him into the house without knowing who he was, in this way Mr. G., John & James, who were at Mr. Gracie's, became known to the Ct., who preserves his incognito and declines entering into Society.

Mr. King's fourth son, Edward, who had been educated in New York, passed two years in the study of law in Mr. Reeve's law school at Litchfield, Connecticut. As he had expressed a desire to practise his profession in one of the Western States, his father considered that it would be wiser for him to pass the last year's study in the State in which he proposed to live (Ohio) and thus familiarize himself with the modes of practice of law there and become acquainted with the members of the Bar. In May he had written to Governor Thomas Worthington at Chillicothe, Ohio, asking

him to assist him in making arrangements for his son's studies and residence in that city, and to introduce him to those who would help him in his work and admit him to social intercourse with their families. The Governor promptly responded with every promise to do what he could to render his son's residence profitable and agreeable to him, and as the sequel will show, faithfully fulfilled his promise.

In October Edward began his journey westward, and his father wrote to him on November 12th, that he hoped

"that without having suffered any unnecessary delay you are engaged in settling yourself down to the finishing of your preparatory studies. Not a day, not an hour of postponement should be suffered, for the influence of suspense and of unprofitable occupation is as injurious as early decision and the steady prosecution of your studies would be advantageous."

Again on December 16th he writes to his son giving him advice as to his daily life, and relative to the position he should aim to attain in his profession, and in the good opinion and respect of those whose estimation was most desirable.

" . . . One great point you have to study is economy ; with it you may succeed to acquire reputation and property ; without it you will fail in both respects.

"You must also beforehand well understand, that you must have much & enduring patience ; as it will be by industry, regularity, and sober & unexceptional habits, that you may expect, in due time, to obtain a portion of the business, which now belongs to others.

"To be a Lawyer of reputation, your punctuality, industry, acquirements & talents, bottomed upon the purest integrity, must be seen and understood by others ; and until a favorable opinion in these respects is established, you cannot and must not expect employment. As to jumping at once into fame and fortune, it would be more than folly, to even hope you will be able to do it. You must have a beginning before you can make any progress, which will be slow, or rapid, exactly in proportion to your merits.

"Your present object is not immediate acquisition of fortune, but to acquire character, standing, & public consideration; the obtaining of which will call for the exercise of all the virtues—habits of order, industry and uninterrupted perseverance must be strictly observed—rise daily, at the same, and an early hour—pursue the same course of industry tomorrow as today—whatever interruption is indulged in, let it be at the same hour every day; and whether you read, write, study, eat, sleep, or amuse yourself in society—let each be done at the same hour daily. Method is the parent of order and the first law in education & business—one day shd. be the copy of another. In this course you cannot fail. Something added daily to your stock of knowledge, will in proper time become a treasure above price. I recommend to you to keep a journal, in which with fidelity you make a short entry of every day's work—noticing current events—and rigorously marking down the omissions of order, application, and the observance of your prescribed course, which happened in the preceding day. This will be calling yourself to account, &, if impartially practised, will have the effect to exclude bad habits and confirm good ones.

"We left home on the 4th and arrived here on the 12th. . . . Congress are not yet fairly at work: the Senate have the commercial Convention with Eng. before them; it will probably be ratified on the 18th or 20th.— . . ."

R. King to E. King.

Washington, Dec. 23, 1815.

Dear Edward:

As the morning Paper contains the commercial Convention with England I send it to you. The Senate with almost unanimity advised the President to ratify it; not because it will do much good, but because it can do little harm: in truth it is scarcely worth the wax of its seals, and leaves every point of dispute and disagreement unsettled.

The West Ind. trade is retained under the colonial System of G. Br., and the intercourse with Canada and Nova Scotia is left without adjustment by the Parties & of course subject to the

ex parte Regulations of each ; Mr. Jay's Treaty opened to us the navigation of the St. Lawrence as low down as Quebec ; from this we are to be excluded hereafter. On the Subject of Impressment, Contraband, Blockade, Trade to Enemy-Colonies, and Orders in Council, the fruitful topics of past misfortunes, controversy and war, the Convention is entirely silent. It provides agt. our future embargoes & non-intercourse Laws—and the act of Ratification seems by indirect means to make us Parties to Bonaparte's confinement.

Altho' I make mention to you of these subjects, I may add, that I have no desire that you shd. engage in their discussion where you are. It is likely that most persons about you think well of whatever is done under the actual Administration, and as your true object is to establish yourself in your profession, and not to dispute political Questions, it will be the part of prudence to devote your mind and all your exertions to your own personal pursuits. You will not infer from this suggestion, that I recommend to you to impair your own independence, by an improper concealment of your real sentiments ; but prudence may enjoin an abstinence from controversy, which might disadvantageously affect your permanent welfare.* affectionately yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO E. KING.

WASHINGTON, January 1, 1816.

MY DEAR EDWARD :

In sending you my wishes for a happy new year, I anticipate the common return on your part ; and the occasion awakens all the anxious concern that I have felt on your account, while it permits me to recall to your consideration, how much of the happiness of my future years, which cannot be very many, & may be few, will depend on you.

Laying aside the amusements, the occupations & pursuits of the past, it behoves you to adjust your condition, employment & expectation, and to fix your whole mind to the scene that surrounds you ; and where by studying the manners, habits, business and modes of thinking, you will be able to acquire the standing,

* He was only 20 years old.

and hereafter the influence, that will gratify yourself and be useful to the public. You will however understand, that I do not recommend this course without cautioning you carefully to discriminate between good and bad manners, & emphatically between good and bad habits—vulgarity in manners, language and habits exists everywhere, and is everywhere to be avoided.

Altho' I have no particular knowledge of the State of society in Chillicothe, and have believed it to be exempt from many of the impurities that are found elsewhere; I should be wanting in affection towards you, as also deficient in the duty of a father, were I to omit touching on a few points of cardinal importance. It is matter of regret as well as mortification that habits of intemperance dishonor and destroy the reputation and usefulness, of not a few of the men of education and public standing among us. You know that I have never permitted, except in extraordinary cases, the use of ardent spirits in my family. This regulation arose from my observation, that the habitual use of ardent spirits, as a common beverage, is extremely dangerous; and from the knowledge that prevention is more to be relied on than correction, I earnestly caution you against the use of ardent spirits in any form. Beer, cider and, better than either, water are the safest and most healthy drinks. Gaming of every sort, is inconsistent with the acquisition and security of property. Borrowing and contracting debts, for present expenses, are inconsistent with personal independence, lead to meanness, & even dishonesty. Regularity, order, in small equally as in great affairs, early rising, with industry, and the prudent regulation of passions as well as discourse, not only conduce to health and wealth, but are the infallible agents, by which great results are produced. Don't read this new year's gift as the churlish expressions of one, whose age impairs the relish for indulgence, but accept them as the fruits of the experience of an affectionate father. R. K.

R. King to Edward King.

Jany. 6, 1816, Georgetown.

My dear Sir:

From Mr. Morrow I have heard that you were on your way to Philadelphia. On the object of your mission the Senators of Ohio

are divided in opinion. Having regard to the wishes and convenience of the State, Chillicothe has a preference over Cincinnati; but it will probably be urged, that on other considerations, especially that of affording to the Indiana-State a facility of making their Land-Payments, or rather to the collectors a facility in making their remittances of such Payments, Cincinnati is more eligible than Chillicothe. But you will not omit to remark, that instead of leaving it optional with the Bank to establish or not a Branch in each State, the Law obliges the Bank to establish such Branch in each State that owns two thousand shares; provided Congress on application of the Legislature of such State shall require the same.

There can be no doubt of the requisition being made by Congress, on the application of any State, whose inhabitants own Bank Capl. amounting to 200,000 Dollars; nor do I think it can be long before this portion of property in the Bk. will be owned in Indiana, and a consequent application made for a Branch.

Indeed the public will have no small interest in placing a Bk. in Indiana. The intention has been with a view of aiding the Revenue, and its collection, that Branches should be established through't. the U. S., and the increased Capital above that of the former Bk. of the U. S, manifests the expectation of the Congress on this head. If Indiana be placed out of the question, which it soon will be by the interest and demand of the State, then Cincinnati becomes an inconvenient place for the establishment of the Ohio Branch; which, looking to the important interests of the State, as well as the permanent advantage of the Bk. U. S., should be placed at Chillicothe or some other more central position. . . . Yrs. &c.

RUFUS KING.

WM. HENDERSON TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Jany. 19, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

I am very much obliged to you for your attention to the subject of the Harbor in which I am interested on Lake Ontario. Commodore Chauncey is now at Washington. I have reason to believe that if he is consulted, his opinion would be in favor of the permanent naval establishment being at the Town of Hender-

son. Genl. Brown is also in favor of it. He spoke to me last Summer respecting land for military purposes. He said it would be proper for the U. S. to obtain 500,000 acres near the Naval station, and so situated that the Troops might be prevented from mingling with the people of the Country. Any land that belongs to me, I shall be willing to sell to Government at a price that will be deemed reasonable.

I do not find that Mr. Dallas's plan of a Bank has any advocates here. He and Mr. Burrall correspond. Jonathan has told him that such a Bank would not fill. Subscribers to it could not expect more than 5 prct. dividends per ann. &c. &c. I have seen a letter of the Secy's. to him in which he appears to be highly displeased with the conduct of the Banks here; considering five of them at least as hostile to the Govt. from party motives. Mr. B. defends the Banks for refusing Treasury Notes; and to show that party was out of the question, informs him that in the Bank of America where six or seven of the directors are administration men (two of them appointed by Govr. Tompkins) the vote against receiving Treasury Notes was unanimous. If Mr. Dallas is anxious for Banks to resume specie payments, he ought to fund the Treasury Notes now in circulation *on the best terms he can;* and not issue in future more than 4 or 5 millions of dollars in a year, which sum might be kept in circulation at par. The quantity of foreign merchandize now in this City is so great, that if the duties are suddenly reduced to the extent proposed, many merchants will suffer severely. A large addition of revenue next year will arise from importations from beyond the Cape of Good Hope. From Europe our market will not bear one half the amount of last year, without ruining the importers.

Owing to death and disease among the Democratic Members, it seems certain the feds. will have the majority in the State Assembly. This may produce a Council of Appt. which may produce a great deal of trouble.

I am with sincere respect & esteem, your hum. Servt.

Wm. Henderson.

CHARLES KING TO R. KING.

LIVERPOOL, 3d Jany., 1816.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . The new commercial Treaty is liked here, for excepting the farmers, there is no class of persons in this country whose interests have suffered more by the peace than Shipowners; and they are glad of the opportunity of running with us upon equal terms; and from the extreme pressure under which they now labour, I have no doubt they will be enabled, by the almost nominal freights, which they prefer taking to letting their ships be idle, for a time to carry off from us a share of the trade; but eventually I think we shall not be losers by this arrangement. . . .

Peace has not realized here any of the golden hopes with which such an event is usually hailed. The commerce of the country is diminished, its agriculture deprived of the market which large armies abroad & great consequent waste produced; the Navy reduced has thrown hundreds of hungry and unprovided officers & thousands of men upon the world, to increase the general clamor; the gradual reduction of the army is adding to this list; the country banks, which had extended themselves, as tho' the hour of reckoning was never to come, are breaking, or by their sudden retrenchments, causing their customers to break, & finally it is evident from preludes which the ministerial papers are sounding, that it is the intention of ministers to continue the income tax at half its present rate and all the other war taxes or equivalents to them. In this state of things every one complains, tho' none suggest remedies, and I have no doubt this session of Parliament will be unusually stormy; and yet, tho' I confess myself wholly unable to say how, I feel persuaded the evil will be remedied without any convulsion. The system, after being wound up to such a height as it has been, is indeed exhausted; but there was a vigor in its former efforts & there is still such evidence of it, in its inanimate state, that one cannot but anticipate the happiest results.

In France the ultra Royalists seem to me to be driving all who took any share in the revolution to utter despair, and by their late efforts to restore to the Clergy all the lands & endowments they formerly possessed, and to enable them to receive legacies &c from "dying sinners whom they shrive," to be bent on throwing

away all the benefits which, amidst its numerous evils, the resolution had produced; and determined to rival even Ferdinand in their base submission to bigoted & ambitious priests. Hyde de Neuville is said to be the most furious of these *white Jacobins*, as the constitutionalists call them. He is lately appointed Minister to the U. S. . . . believe me yours

CHAS. KING.

W. W. VAN NESS TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 31 Jany., 1816.

DEAR SIR:

You no doubt are desirous to know what has been done, and what is doing here, and I therefore take the liberty of communicating it.

The Assembly, in consequence of a certificate given by the Clerk of Ontario most corruptly and flagitiously to one Allen a Democrat, stood 64 Dems. to 62. Feds. Two Democrats are not here, one being dead and another having gone to Charlestown (S. C.) on account of indisposition. The House then stood 62 to 62. Governeur Ogden, the federal member for St. Lawrence, is dangerously ill, indeed is probably no more, and we now stand 61 Fed. to 62 Dem. To-day the house met and we of course lost the Speaker by the vote of Allen. Our friends then moved to vacate Allen's Seat, in order to admit Fellows without a previous reference to the Committee of Elections. I will briefly explain the grounds upon which this course is considered justifiable. By our Election law the inspectors are directed to make duplicate returns, one to be filed "*of Record*" in the Town Clerk's office, and the other in the office of the County Clerk. In the case before the House, the return of one of the Towns, filed in the *County* Clerk's office in Ontario, stated that *Hen:* Fellows had 49 votes; the duplicate field in the *Town* Clerk's office stated 49 votes were given to Hen*ry* Fellows, & the Inspectors all swear the letters "*ry*" in the first mentioned return were omitted through inadvertence. The federalists contend that both returns being equally matter "*of record*," and the return in the Town Clerk's office being conclusive evidence that all the votes were intended to be for Henry Fellows, there is no necessity to refer this case to the Committee of Elections. There are no facts which that Commit-

tee can report, that are not already before the House, and which cannot be controverted and which indeed the sitting member does not call in question.

What disposition the House will make of this question, I do not know, but should the Democrats be vile enough to postpone a decision of Fellows' application until after a Council of Appointment is chosen ; our next Spring's election will most undoubtedly be lost.

We have resolved, if we have the power, to put two federalists and no more in the Council, and if this can be accomplished, I have very strong hopes we shall make this State permanently federal. Our opponents fear this measure very much and I shall not be surprised if they persevere in excluding Fellows from his seat until they have defeated it.

There is doubt that Tompkins is seriously bent upon being President. His friends here are active and apparently confident of success. They join the cry "Virginia has ruled long enough." These very men four years ago would have crucified Federalists, if they had possessed the power, for uttering such a sentiment—When the Council is chosen you will hear from me again—Very respectfully your obt. Servt

W. W. Van Ness.

T. Dwight to R. King.

Albany, Feb. 10, 1816.

Dear Sir :

You will probably have learned from the papers, & from other sources, the history of the proceedings of the House of Assembly, since the commencement of the present session of the Legislature. The leaders of the democratic party, those of the highest pretensions, it is said, goaded Allen to his task, & now openly boast of their success, as the result of an ingenious, well executed political measure, in which they outwitted the federalists. It is a lamentable fact, that men holding high offices, and claiming much consideration from the stations they occupy in the community, can boast of a transaction, which I believe cannot be equalled in the history of political depravity.*

The federalists are in some measure disconcerted by this

* See Hammond's *Political History of N. Y.*, Chapter beginning i., 402.

manœuvre, by being obliged to change their candidate for governor. Judge Van Ness cannot be persuaded to leave the Bench exposed to be filled with a man of that party, in the possible event of a federal election, & is, I presume, to be considered out of the question. There is to be a State Convention here next week, for the purpose of fixing on a candidate. I presume their wisdom will direct them to the best man, under all circumstances, that can now be had.

A great effort, certainly, is necessary to redeem this great State. Without the force & aid of New York, federalism cannot expect to make any serious advances. The present appears to me to be a crisis with us. If we cannot get the command of this State, we cannot expect to have any effectual agency in the presidential election. If we cannot make any impression upon the presidential election, this time, I see no hope for the future. The first step, then, must be, to secure the State & the second, to do as much towards the United States as possible.

I think the politicians here, wise & able as they are, want all the help they can possibly obtain from their friends, in every quarter of the country—and especially from those who are at Washington, and who understand the interests, & character of the State. With regard to the candidate for Governor, he will probably be fixed upon next week. But as to the general scheme of operations, & the sources from whence topics are to be drawn, to influence the great body of the people, their friends at the seat of government may be able to render them essential service.

The transactions of the House of Assembly, it is tho't, are making some favorable impressions abroad. The nakedness of the case & the avowed object of the course pursued by the democrats appear to remove every possibility of imposition from it: that a Council of Appointment should be chosen by the vote of a spurious member, strikes some minds with considerable force.

I am endeavouring to contribute my mite to aid a cause, which I have much at heart. If I do no good, I do not intend to do any hurt; I should stand a much better chance of being useful, if my friends would instruct me, & above all give me the benefit of their wisdom, and experience. I am willing to beg for the public good. With great respect, I am you very obt sert.

T. DWIGHT.

W. Coleman's Sketch of Rufus King.

"Mr. King, although he has past the sixty first year of his age, enjoys, in an uncommon degree, the blessings of a hale constitution, unimpaired by sickness or excesses; and his love of retirement, combined with a taste for elegant literature, which an extensive and well chosen library enables him to indulge, and a well cultivated taste for botany and agricultural pursuits, have led him to exchange the feverish tumult and enervating routine of cities, for the healthy activity and rational pleasures of a country life. In person he is rather above the middle size; perfectly symmetrical, but somewhat athletic. His countenance is manly and bespeaks intelligence of the first order. The portrait prefixed gives an uncommonly near resemblance.* He possesses naturally a cheerful disposition, with a large portion of sensibility and much generosity of character. His self command is so perfect, that he is very seldom, if indeed ever, thrown off his guard cither in debate, or in discourse, by open attack or ensnaring artifice. On subjects of real importance he bestows much time and thought, and does not decide until after a very thorough investigation, but when his mind is settled, his judgment is irrevocable. At times his manner is strongly marked with reservedness; by which is not meant a want of frankness, for no man has more of that quality, but the absence of those lively sallies of humour and pleasantry, which, on other occasions display themselves in his conversation. By assiduous study, he has acquired large funds of information on almost every subject. His conversation and writings are remarkable for conciseness, force and simplicity. A constant adherence to the point and an attentive pursuit of the thread of his argument, leave no opportunity for excursions in search of a figure of rhetoric which might not adorn, and could not illustrate. And this habit of closeness in reasoning, gives a general character to his style, which prevents him from being diffuse, even in familiar narrative.

"Mr. King was the intimate friend, both personal and political, of Hamilton. With that great man, he was many years in habits of unreserved familiarity, and it is asserted, on the testimony of several of his friends now living (1816) that Hamilton considered

* The portrait by Wood in the third volume of this work.

Mr. King not only the most finished orator amongst the moderns, but conceived him to possess a capacity better qualified to take a wide and comprehensive view of his subject, and of judging correctly of results, than any other American.

"For his speeches, however great or interesting the occasion, he makes no verbal preparation. Having studied his subject well, and made himself familiar with it in all its bearings, he trusts entirely to the immediate resources of his mind to supply him with words which never fail to flow in a steady and copious stream.

"In fine, as a profound statesman, intimately conversant with the laws and constitution of his country, and familiarly acquainted with its various interests, foreign and domestic,—as a civilian, well read in the laws of nations,—as an excellent classical scholar, both in ancient and modern literature,—as an elegant writer, and a consummate orator,—as a finished gentleman in his deportment,—and, as the last key-stone that makes the arch, as a professor of religion, whose duties he performs with an unostentatious yet exemplary punctuality, Mr. King may be said to rank with the first of his contemporaries."

Sketch of Rufus King, by W. Coleman, in Delaplaine's *Repository*, 1816, vol. i., p. 185.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

H. Bleecker and Others to King—Announcement of his Nomination as Governor of New York—J. R. Van Rensselaer to King—Urging his Acceptance of the Nomination—Kent to King—Acceptance absolutely necessary—J. Morris to King—Choice without consulting him—Duer to King—Dwight to King—Oakley to King—All urging his Acceptance—Ogden to King—Van Ness not being Candidate wishes King to be—S. Van Rensselaer to King—W. Henderson to King—Duer to Henderson—Z. R. Shepherd to King—Van Ness to King—All pressing him to accept the Nomination—J. A. King to King—State of Opinion—Tompkins' democratic Nominee—S. Van Rensselaer to King—Division among the Democrats—Hopes for King's Success—King to Bleecker Committee—Accepts the Nomination—Mrs. King to E. King—His Father's Nomination—Affectionate Messages.

H. Bleecker and Others to R. King.

Albany, 16 Feby. 1816.

Sir:

We have the honor to inform you that in a Convention of Delegates from the several Counties of this State, called for the Purpose of nominating federal Candidates for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor, at the ensuing election, you were nominated unanimously as a Candidate for the office of Governor. As the Committee appointed by the Convention to make this Communication to you, permit us to express their earnest desire, that your views of the publick good will so far coincide with theirs, as to induce you to consent to be the federal Candidate for the office of Governor of this State. We believe that your consent to serve in the Office, to which the Convention have nominated you, will have a most happy effect on the Politicks of the State, and enable it to obtain that Influence over the Policy of the general Government, to which our Wealth, Population and Importance give us so strong a claim.

It will be evident to you, Sir, that in a Convention of Delegates from different and remote Parts of the State, held in this city, your previous Consent to the Nomination could not be obtained. We hope this will be a sufficient apology for a Nomination, of which any previous Intimation was altogether impracticable.

In addition to the Considerations above suggested, we feel it our Duty to add, as the unanimous opinion of the Committee, that your Acceptance of the Nomination is essential to preserve the Harmony and Unity of the federal Party in the State.

With the most ardent Wish that your Views of your Publick Duty will correspond with those of the Members of the Convention.

We are with great respect your very obedt. Servants,

H. Bleecker,
Peter Augustus Jay,
J. G. Lansing,
Jno. Duer,
J. Rutson Van Rensselaer.

J. R. Van Rensselaer to R. King.

Albany, February 16, 1816.

Sir:

An ardent desire to promote the prosperity and happiness of my native State, and to give her an elevation in point of character above her Sisters, must plead my apology for addressing you on this occasion. As a political man I know you well and in that character I write to you. It is doubtless known to you that, for some time past, our friend Judge Van Ness has been contemplated as the Candidate for Governor of that State at the approaching election. In consequence of the turpitude of our political adversaries, a state of things has been produced, which in the opinion of himself and several of his friends jeopardized the bench of the Supreme Court, in consequence of which he has totally declined being considered as the Candidate. As might have been expected, several gentlemen were immediately proposed as Candidates by their friends. The inevitable consequence would have been the destruction of the party and inevitable ruin must succeed, if fortunately our eyes had not been cast on one who would unite all in his favor and satisfy not only the persons named as

candidates but their friends, that an acquiescence in favor of that person would be not only a duty, but a source of pleasure and pride. You were proposed in a Convention consisting of about one hundred persons from almost every part of the State, convened for the purpose of nominating our Candidate and unanimously approved. I am persuaded that a spirit exists in the party in favor of your nomination, which I hope and believe will be irresistible at the approaching election, if you will do the party the favor of accepting the nomination ; and you will allow me to add, that I most sincerely believe the existence of the federal party in this State depends on the decision you shall make. Under this impression I persuade myself you will forego all private considerations and yield yourself to your political friends. I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, but write freely because I believe I know your character and that you will consider everything I write as proceeding from a pure motive. I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedt. Servt.

J. Rutson Van Rensselaer.

James Kent to R. King.

Albany, Feby. 16, 1816.

Dear Sir :

You will learn by the time this arrives, of your nomination as Governor. I have nothing to do actively with meetings or nominations, but my wishes for the honor and success of the federal Party (as containing more virtue and juster views than any other Party) are ardent and unceasing. I take the liberty by this merely to apprize you that a singular anxiety prevails here that you should consent to be a Candidate, that on this consent depends essentially, and I apprehend *absolutely* the courage and success, or the despair and ruin of the Party ; that nothing could be more soothing, or flattering or animating to the whole Party, than the signification of that consent, and you may be assured that they will bestow upon you, in return, the warmest tribute of their affections. The causes that have led to this crisis I have not a fit opportunity to detail, and I hope you will not deem this spontaneous communication impertinent. I only wish that you should truly know what

I conscientiously believe to be the important consequences of your consent or refusal, and I am persuaded you have a strong and a much more enlightened zeal for the welfare of our common Country.*

I am with great Respect your obedt. Servt.

JAMES KENT.

JACOB MORRIS TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Feby. 16, 1816.

DEAR SIR :

A Convention of Delegates from almost every part of the State for the purpose of nominating suitable Candidates to be offered to the choice of the electors of the State at the ensuing election for Governor and Lieut. Governor, assembled in this City on the 14th inst, and broke up yesterday.

Having deliberated on the momentary question before us, we unanimously determined that the great weight attached to your character and high standing in this State would justify the liberty we have taken to select your name for the first mentioned office, without consulting you previously, on the subject.

The breaking up of the Convention without a nomination, would have been fatal to that cause and those principles in which we are proud to see you so prominent : we therefore fondly wish and humbly hope, that you will attribute the step we have taken in this particular, to the true and only motives that governed (I trust) every member of that assembly, to wit, attachment to your person, and a regard for the interest and welfare of our beloved Country and of this great and respectable State in particular.

Your name at the head of our ticket bids fair to restore this State to the glorious course pursued by the immortal Washington, and nothing will be more gratifying to our wishes and flattering to our hopes than your approbation of the measures we have taken.

I remain with the most respectful and affectionate regard

Dear Sir, yr. obedt. humble servt.

JACOB MORRIS.

* Endorsed—"Ansd. 24, that Van Ness ought still to be our Candidate."

W. A. Duer to R. King.

Albany, Feby. 16, 1816.

Dear Sir:

As a member of the Convention, by which you have been unanimously nominated as our Candidate for the Government of this State at the ensuing election, it is, in some measure, incumbent upon me to explain to you the reasons, which induced me to concur in making this appeal to your patriotism and public spirit, at the hazard of interfering most materially with your private wishes and convenience.

The Convention, which has just adjourned, was composed of the leading and most active men of the party from every part of the State, and assembled under strong impressions that Judge Van Ness was to receive the nomination. They were not all aware of the condition under which he had originally consented to serve, if elected; and were not in the least disposed to regard it. You, my dear Sir, were not at hand to be consulted, and the Convention resolved to nominate Mr. Van Ness notwithstanding it was understood that he had determined not to risque the appointment of a Democratic successor on the bench of the Supreme Court in case of his being elected Governor; and that therefore he had determined to decline. Judge Van Ness, upon receiving this nomination, acted with firmness and declined, his resolution against it being unalterable. The Convention was then upon the point of adjourning without making any nomination. But this was most fortunately prevented, and they endeavoured, if possible, to prevent the evil consequences which they apprehended from the declining of Judge Van Ness. After many repeated experiments, it was found absolutely impossible to come to an agreement upon any person but yourself, whom they had only been deterred from naming in the first instance by motives of the highest respect and delicacy.

Our situation was such as to overturn all other considerations but for the existence of the party and the safety of the State; and as the only measure to preserve the one, and insure the other, it was determined to put you in nomination, without having previously consulted you. Had it not been understood, until too late, that Judge Van Vess had been fixed upon as our Candidate, we should not have been reduced to the necessity of hazarding any

injury to your feelings ; and I trust the situation in which we have been individually placed, and the motives by which we have been actuated, will be deemed sufficient to justify us in your good opinion. For my own part, I am perfectly convinced that the salvation of Federalism and its resuscitation in this State, depend upon your acceptance ; and never should I have given my voice to your nomination, had I not entertained a confident, and, as I believe, well grounded assurance of your success.

Excuse, my dear Sir, the haste in which I am compelled to write, and believe me

With great respect your obliged and faithful humble Servant,

W. A. Duer.

T. Dwight to R. King.

Albany, Feby. 16, 1816.

Dear Sir :

The federalists of this State have taken a step in which you must necessarily feel deeply interested, and however deep that interest may be, I am convinced it cannot exceed that which the party feel on the occasion. By the loss of the Council of Appointment, Judge Van Ness tho't it his duty to decline being the candidate for governor, as, in the event of his election, the Council would have it in their power to fill his place on the Bench with some Democrat, who would be a lasting scourge to the State. This event reduced the federal Convention to a dilemma, from which it was by no means easy for them to extricate themselves. They could not agree on a gentleman, who, it was tho't, would unite and call out the strength of the party. They were under the necessity of either breaking up without making any nomination, or to take the course they have pursued. Had they dissolved without making a nomination, nothing can be more apparent than that it would entirely defeat the election and break down the party. The Democrats here are considered as greatly divided—not having less than three or four persons in view as candidates for governor. The most intelligent gentlemen that I have seen, feel strong confidence, with the present nomination, of success. I am too recent a settler here, to be considered a judge. But I am perfectly well persuaded, that with any other they can make,

they will be unsuccessful—if for no other cause, for want of confidence.

Should this State remain in the hands of the Democrats, it seems to be clearly settled, that there is no hope of a federal president; whether there is any, in any event, is more than I can pretend to say. But I am perfectly convinced, that the only chance to redeem the State and the Nation, is *now*. It is taxing your patriotism pretty heavily, to call upon you to sacrifice so much to the cause. But the cause must be sacrificed without it I am afraid.

I presume you will hear from all your friends on this interesting subject. I hope it will be in your power to gratify them all and to do what we all think indispensably necessary for the salvation of a great cause and perhaps of the country.

With the highest respect, I am most sincerely, etc

T. DWIGHT.

THOS. J. OAKLEY TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Feby. 16, 1816.

SIR:

You will, no doubt, have learned before this reaches you, that you were unanimously nominated last evening by the general Convention of Federalists convened here, as a Candidate for the office of Governor at the ensuing election. It was no doubt known to you that during the last fall and early winter, the attention of our political friends was generally turned to Judge Van Ness, as their Candidate. Circumstances have occurred, since the commencement of the session of this Legislature, to induce Judge V. N. to decline the nomination.

In this state of things, the Convention were unable to agree upon any Candidate from the number of those gentlemen who had been previously named as Candidates, and the display of opinion was such, that serious apprehensions were entertained that the Convention would separate without making any nomination. The effect of which would have been extremely disastrous to the party generally. Your name had frequently been suggested in the course of our deliberations, and a general disposition manifested to nominate you. But the idea was at length laid aside under the impression that you would not assent to the measure.

When however it was discovered that *no other man in the State*

could unite the views and opinions of the party, we felt impelled by a sense of duty to the State, to put you in nomination, and at the hazard of your declining.

It does not become me to undertake to urge to you any considerations, which I might think calculated to influence your decision in this case. I can only say that it is the sincere and universal wish of your friends here, that you should assent to the measure they have adopted; and this wish is entertained by no one more warmly and sincerely than by myself. I consider the success of the party at the ensuing election as, in a great measure, depending on the decision that you may make. Feeling this conviction very strongly, I have ventured to write this letter, a liberty perhaps that my limited acquaintance with you does not authorize me to take. But I hope you will attribute it to the anxiety I feel, in common with many others, for the prosperity and success of the Federal party, with which I consider the essential interests of the country as inseparably connected.

I am with great respect your humble servt.

THOS. J. OAKLEY.

D. B. OGDEN TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Feby. 17, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

To my utter astonishment I have seen by the newspaper of this evening, that a Convention of Federalists, which have been assembled at Albany from all parts of the State, for the purpose of nominating a Governor and Lieutenant Governor, have nominated you as our Candidate for Governor, and George Tibbets for Lieutenant Governor. I have had no communication from any individual in Albany upon this subject, nor have I seen any of our friends here, since I saw the nomination. I am left therefore to conjecture for the causes which have led to it. As I suppose you will not be less surprized than I have been, at this step taken I am sure without any consultation with you, I have thought that you would excuse me for begging you not to decide upon the course you will take in relation to it without full consideration.

You know that Judge Van Ness was the Candidate talked of, and indeed fixed upon, had our friends in the Legislature been able to have chosen a Council of Appointment, that would not

appoint a democratic Judge. As they have not been able to do this, he is out of the question. It will never do to have any more stupid or unprincipled democracy on the Bench of the Supreme Court, if it can be avoided. In this state of things, I presume, it has been found extremely difficult to fix upon a man who would not excite local and individual jealousies and rivalship; until at last your name has been mentioned, which has at once put an end to all rivalship and competition.

Against Judge Van Ness there were objections which I have no doubt you have heard of, and which, altho' in my mind they were weighty, were not insurmountable, but which might and probably would by many gentlemen have been considered as of greater importance. When his name was withdrawn there were so many with equal claims, and against many of whom the same objections would have been urged as against Judge Van Ness, and without the same reasons for overcoming them, that I really am at a loss to know what would have been done.

Now, my dear Sir, although your nomination never entered into my brain for a variety of reasons, I am not sure but that it may be upon the whole a most fortunate event. There is such a cloud over the characters of several gentlemen, who may now be considered as the leaders of the party in this State, that I have long feared that the most respectable men of the community would withdraw in disgust from taking any interest in our politics, and any part in our Elections. Your name would, as it were, erect a new banner under which every man in the party would rally, because they would do so with pride, and without any of those misgivings which they would feel in supporting almost any other prominent man of the party. Your Election would be a new æra in Federal politics, and men of high character and honor would feel as they ought.

There are, I am aware, several objections against your consenting to be the Candidate, and I feel and acknowledge the full force of them; nor do I mean to be presumptuous enough to pretend to advise you upon this occasion. My intention in taking the liberty I have done in writing this letter, was merely to ask you not to decide without due reflection.

With great respect & esteem, your humble servant

DAVID B. OGDEN.

S. Van Rensselaer to R. King.

New York, Feby. 19, 1816.

Dear Sir :

I address you on a subject in which I feel a lively interest. You doubtless have been informed of your nomination by a convention at Albany for the chair of State. Knowing your desire of retiring from the bustle of politics, I feel a delicacy in asking you to make a sacrifice, which would be grateful to all our friends and particularly to myself. Therefore all I request is, *and that* with deference, that you would at least deliberate well before you determine.

An effort would be made for your election which no other Candidate can expect. The respectability of the party depends on your decision, and I may add, its salvation if you allow us the use of your name. I promise my warmest support and will immediately make arrangements in our part of the State to merit, if not ensure success.

With great respt. &c

S. Rensselaer.

W. Henderson to R. King.

New York, Feby. 20, 1816.

Dear Sir :

I yesterday received the enclosed letter from Duer at Albany. I send it to you because it shows the State of affairs there, which led to your nomination as a Candidate for Governor. I have seen Judge Ford from St. Lawrence, who was one of the Delegates to the Convention. He is decidedly of opinion that your declining at this time, would break up the party in this State ; *as no other man can be named in whom all will unite.* He farther declares his firm conviction that your election is sure, if you consent to serve. He agrees with Mr. Duer that the Democrats at Albany are very much distracted and divided. Clinton is now there ; and there is no doubt of his friends attempting a nomination, if there is the least prospect of success. Mr. D. B. Ogden informs me he has written to you on the subject ; his opinion being that of an intelligent honest man will have its due weight with you. Indeed you can have no hesitation in believing

that it would be extremely gratifying to all your friends that you should accept the nomination. The communications you will receive of all the circumstances that produced the nomination, will enable you to determine (and I am persuaded, correctly) the course you ought to take in an embarrassing situation.

I am with respect and esteem your very humb. Servt.

W. HENDERSON.

W. A. DUER TO WM. HENDERSON.

ALBANY, Feby. 16, 1816.

DEAR SIR :

You can have no conception of the agitation which took place upon the assembling of our Convention, in consequence of Judge Van Ness's declining. Notwithstanding the explanations which were given by his friends, they insisted upon passing an unanimous resolution for his nomination, and the appointment of a committee to urge upon him its acceptance. This was done and he remained firm in his determination ; it was then with the greatest difficulty that the most judicious men amongst us could dissuade the body from adjourning without making any nominations. But it was at length agreed to proceed to a ballot after passing a resolution that any candidate who should be elected by a majority of the whole number of votes, should be unanimously adopted. After several ballots it was found that none succeeded in obtaining a majority, although Emott, upon the last ballot, came within one of it. The Convention was then once more upon the point of adjourning without making a nomination, or of what would have been infinitely worse, to have nominated Judge Van Ness again after his positive refusal : and this was only prevented by the nomination of Mr. King ; and in my mind nothing but his acceptance can save the party and rescue the State. And this will do it. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which this nomination was received, when it was strongly urged to the Convention—that under present circumstances we had every reason to hope that Mr. King would not decline. Were there not a strong hope, or rather almost a confidence of succeeding with him, the expedient of nominating him without previously consulting him, would not have been resorted to. A Committee

has been appointed to announce his nomination to him in proper terms. But it has been thought necessary to urge it upon him more strongly through the medium of every one of his personal friends who can be engaged, to write to him. Let me therefore take the liberty of requesting that you will write to him, and that you will engage Mr. Gracie to write also, entreating him as he has the cause of Federalism at heart, not to blight all its present promise by refusing to yield to the unanimous call of its advocates in this State.

The Democrats affect to believe the whole a manœuvre intended to promote the success of Mr. Clinton, and they have made some impression upon our weaker brethren. Both Madisonians and Tompkinsians declare their convictions that the plan is all arranged : that Mr. King will of course decline and that the Federalists, being then without a candidate, will be under the necessity of supporting Mr. Clinton, whom a strong section of the party are anxious to nominate—*a much stronger section than those usually called Clintonians.* This belief should not be discouraged among this set of men : but Federalists need not give it the least countenance among themselves : and it ought to be used as an additional argument with Mr. King, that he do not, by declining, seem to confirm its reality.

Our adversaries are divided and distracted beyond all example, and I see no means by which they can proceed except by making Tompkins stand again ; and in that event it is probable that a nomination would be got up for Clinton. We never entered the field with such strong foresight of Victory. The course the opposite party is pursuing—the Council of Appointment—the Presidential struggle—the Taxes &c, &c, are all strongly acting auxiliaries to our success ; and if we do not lose the only man who can now unite the exertions of the whole party, we must be triumphant : without him, defeat and all its consequences for years and years to come, is almost certain. . . .

Believe me, dear Sir, very truly yours

W. A. Duer.

ZEBULON R. SHEPHERD TO R. KING.

GRANVILLE, Feby. 20, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

Before the receipt of this letter, you no doubt will learn the proceedings of our State Convention. The nomination of yourself for the chief magistracy of the State was a measure rarely matched and never exceeded for the unanimity of the members, and also for the solicitude that you will condescend to accept the nomination. All eyes of the federal party are turned to the interesting object and importune your acquiescence in their wishes.

Feeling in common with many fellow citizens a strong desire that you should be our Candidate, and yielding to the earnest importunity of my friends, I have presumed to address you on the subject, and if my confidence exceeds the humble station allotted me in life, your magnanimity will veil the fault and doubtless accord forgiveness.

Our situation is peculiar, and should you decline there can be but little doubt of a complete triumph of our enemies with the addition of ruinous and mortifying contentions among ourselves; for *entre nous* there are men respectable for talents and virtue who upon the *turf* would fail, and who could they succeed, seem not to possess all the requisites to subserve our best interests, conciliate their foes and unite their friends, and who unconscious of their defects fondly wish and probably have expected to be nominated. I say men, because there are several, who while they will seek no competition with yourself, and cheerfully acquiesce in your nomination, should you decline there can be no doubt but a scene of bickering discussion, and, I should fear hostility would be the consequence.

If enough, we are barely enough federal to succeed in our election when united; any schism would be certain defeat; and with great confidence I can say no man will more effectually unite us than yourself. All our prudence and united exertion and perfect cooperation being necessary, to be deprived of our favourite object, is to be deprived of our hopes, and languor, despondency and torpor will ensue.

I am not insensible how great a sacrifice, we ask you to make and how little we have to offer you as an equivalent. We ask you to expose yourself to the slanders of calumniators and the

infamous fabrications of a licentious, furious, unprincipled party; but believing your feelings are as much above them as they are above being flattered with any honours we can tender you, and that your regard for the interests of the State will triumph over every other consideration, we cannot but hope we have a friend in your breast that will be our advocate and secure our wishes.

Should you yield to these wishes we shall not despair of success. The strong motive to vigorous exertion will exist and what can be achieved by the party will be accomplished. I am not so vain as to believe, I ought to influence your mind in fixing your ultimatum. No Sir, I feel humbled and tremble as I offer you a single motive, but the object is paramount to diffidence and compels me to avow not merely my own, but the wishes, the feelings, the earnest desires of thousands. Was it otherwise, I would be silent; and your repose would not be disturbed by the pen of your most

obed friend & very humble Servant

ZEBULON R. SHEPHERD.

JUDGE VAN NESS TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Feby. 19, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

I wrote to you on Friday last, but having reason to believe that several of my late letters have been stopped, I take the liberty to repeat what I then said.

Before this reaches you, you will have heard of your nomination as the Federal Candidate for Governor, and of the peculiar circumstances which produced it. I lament exceedingly that there was not time to consult you on this subject before your nomination took place, and I can easily imagine how sensibly you are affected by the extreme delicacy of the situation in which you are placed. My object is not to state the various reasons which exist to induce you to yield to the wishes of your friends. This has already been done by others, but I must be permitted to say that if you decline, there is an end of the federal party in this State.

We are waiting for your answer with trembling anxiety. If you consent to be our Candidate, I firmly believe we shall succeed, and I beg to assure you that no individual in the State will

labor more constantly, faithfully and zealously to promote your election than myself. I shall hail your election as the return of the reign of honest men, and I will venture to say that you will find yourself surrounded and supported in your administration by as resolute, high-minded and honorable a set of men as ever existed in any community. I beg you to think long and dispassionately before you say "No."

I have received both your letters and thank you for them. The Democrats here say that the Presidential question is settled and that Monroe is to be the man. You would be astonished at the bitterness of the divisions in the Democratic Party in this State. They will never cordially unite in any nomination for Governor, except that of Tompkins, who beyond all doubt is out of the question.

I am very respectfully and truly your obedt. Servt.

W. W. Van Ness.

John A. King to R. King.

New York, Feby. 19, 1816.

Dear Sir:

. . . D. B. Ogden told me that he had written to you yesterday on the subject of your nomination at Albany. I imagine that this new honor was as much unexpected by you, as it was by all your friends here. It seems that to satisfy the feelings of Judge Van Ness and of his friends an offer to support him was openly made; but what previous arrangements had been entered into in consequence of which he was to decline, do not appear. Mr. Van Rensselaer is very desirous that you should consent to enter the lists; he says that in case of your acquiescence, he will set out immediately for Albany and electioneer for you with all his zeal & ability; he said he should write to you upon this subject by today's mail. . . .

Yours sincerely John A. King.

John A. King to R. King.

New York, Feby. 26, 1816.

Dear Sir:

We have for the last two days been expecting letters from you, particularly on the subject of your late nomination at Albany.

Since that event Tompkins has been set up by the Republican party as your opponent. DeWitt was at Albany at that time endeavouring, as I learn from his friend Dr. Hosack, to reinstate himself in the confidence of his old friends, and through their influence to have become again a Candidate for popular favor; his ambition was less grasping than it was wont to be; he could have been content to have entered the lists for the Government of this State, but it would seem that in this intrigue he has been foiled, and a preference given to Tompkins, who stands again for his third consulship. . . .

Yours affectionately
JOHN A. KING.

S. VAN RENSSELAER TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Feby. 29, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

I yesterday received your favor of the 24th inst. upon the subject of the late nomination for Governor. I am well aware of your sentiments and inclination in relation to this business, and can easily conceive that your standing as regards the Federal party must create embarrassment.

I cannot presume to advise you, as to the decision you ought to make, altho' I think your decision of great importance to the party as also to the country. As to the course Judge Van Ness has thought proper to pursue, *his* friends say it was in consequence of the certainty in case of his election, that an improper person would by the present Council be placed on the bench. Possibly it may have arisen from some other cause, and I think he was right.

There is great division among our opponents. Clinton's friends intended to have procured his nomination as the Democratic Candidate for Govr., and are mortified at their disappointment. I should not be surprised if Clinton is at last nominated by his friends, counting upon Federal support if we have no Candidate. Many of our friends, it is to be apprehended, will support him, and in that event many will believe that your nomination has been made to make room for him.

Whether any man can prevail against Tompkins, I doubt; yet the accounts from the country induce me almost to believe in

your success. Great enthusiasm is evinced everywhere upon your nomination being known, and I am convinced no other person would run as far. If you were the Candidate, our best characters everywhere would be Candidates for the Legislature and with such men I think you could be of great service to the Country. Our friends everywhere represent your consent as essential almost to the existence of the party. They state the embarrassments were such, that they had no resort left but to throw themselves on the man, to whom they look as the leader and with whom there can be no competition. I do not think V. Ness ought to be urged to be the Candidate—there are objections against him which would jeopardize the election, and do him lasting injury. I want the Government to be in better hands.

With great regard & respect, your friend &c

S. RENSSELAER.

R. KING TO THE BLEECKER COMMITTEE.

*Copy.**

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1816.

GENTLEMEN:

I have had the Honour to receive your letter of February the 16th, informing me, that by a Convention of Delegates from the several Counties of the State, I had been nominated a Candidate for the office of Governor; and I desire you to be assured of the great value, which I place on this Token of their Esteem and Confidence.

As the measure was wholly unexpected, I may claim to be excused in having taken time for Deliberation before my Reply; I continue to regret that Mr. Van Ness declined to be the Candidate; his consent would have given Satisfaction, and relieved me from Embarrassment.

After repeated Consideration of the Subject, I have concluded to signify to you my Consent to the Nomination. I do so nevertheless with Hesitation; and having Regard to the Peculiarity and Force of the Circumstances, of my absence from the State, and of the separation of the Convention, after having made the Nom-

* Sent by mail of Sunday Night, 3d. March, under cover to Chancellor Kent.
R. K.

ination, without my knowledge, I indulge the Hope that I may not have erred in believing that no other Decision was left to my choice.

With great Respect
I have the Honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your obedient and faithful Servant
RUFUS KING.

H. BLEECKER
J. G. LANSING
J. R. VAN RENSSELAER
P. A. JAY
JNO. DUER, Esquires.
Committee of the Convention.

MARY KING TO E. KING.

WASHINGTON, 6th March, 1816.

MY DEAR EDWARD :

Were it not for my invincible objection to writing, I might inundate you with my Epistles at the publick Expence, and thereby interrupt your grave and learned studies ; but fortunately for you there is no apprehension on that score, for I will very frankly acknowledge that this is the first time that I have taken my pen to write to you. There is less cause of regret on this account, as your father has become so regular a correspondent, and keeps you well informed of all that is important in State affairs. I do not know whether he has communicated *one very important piece of information* as it regards his encreasing honors ; and lest you should not have timely notice of this event, I will take it upon myself to announce it—that is his nomination for Governor of the State of New York ! ! ! don't laugh I beg. This step was taken without any previous consultation with him, for he believed with others, that Judge Van Ness was to be the Federal Candidate, & was much surprised and somewhat indignant at seeing his name in the papers as Candidate for Governor without ever having heard one word upon the subject. However in a day or two the mystery was unravelled and a sufficient explanation given of the causes that led to this choice, without having an opportunity of conferring with him on the subject. The papers will give you the particulars ; and after mature deliberation he has yielded a re-

luctant consent to become the candidate, and to this he was driven by the urgent entreaties of his friends who thought he was the only man that, in their own language, could rally & save the federal party in the State. I must confess my patriotism is not sufficient to induce me to congratulate or wish him success. He probably has or will mention the subject himself.

And now, my dear Son, I should be glad to know with more particularity than your letters express, how you are, what you do, and what prospects for the future. I hope & trust the answer will be satisfactory to all these questions. With the exception of Governor Worthington's family, you say nothing about the female society of Chillicothe; are there many females whose manners & conversation will compare with those you have been accustomed to? For I like female society for young Men. It softens & polishes the manners even if the Ladies themselves are not very refined. Have you many amusements, such as dances, not to dignify them with the name of *Balls*, tea parties, &c? . . . John has leased his house for five years to Mr. James McEvers, the Partner of LeRoy & Bayard. He is going to try a country life, but he has not decided as yet, whether it shall be near Jamaica or Greenwich. He would prefer the former, if he could purchase Captain's Motley's place, but I do not know if that is for sale; however he must soon make his decision, as the first of May is not far distant.*

Before this reaches Chillicothe you will have attained your twenty first year, and with it I trust, an increase of wisdom & prudence. I congratulate you with the most heartfelt sincerity on the arrival of man's estate and wish you may live to see many and prosperous anniversaries, and that you may be enabled to fulfill all the wise and good resolutions which you have formed for your own government, ever walking in the paths of rectitude and virtue is the ardent prayer of your affectionate mother

M. KING.

* He bought Mr. Motley's place and removed there soon after.

CHAPTER XXIX.

King to E. King—Nomination—King to Morris—Accepted the Nomination—Morris to King—Pleased with Candidacy—Oakley to King—Tompkins nominated—State Politics—J. A. King to King—Abuse in Papers of C King for Dartmoor Business—Letter to H. Clay—Satisfactory Answer—King's Vindication of his Course towards Irish State Prisoners—Irish Emigrant Association to King—Asking his Support in certain Measures for the Relief of Irish Emigrants to the U. S.—King to Gore—Defeat of Federalists in New York—King to Gore—Personally satisfied with the Result of the Elections—Gore to King—Satisfied he was a Candidate—Life at Warm Springs, Va.—King to E. King—Return Home—E. King's Engagement—King to E. King—Federalists must adhere to their Integrity—Gore to King—Sent to the Legislature his Resignation of Senatorship.

R. King to E. King.

Washington, Mar. 9, 1816.

Dear Edward:

. . . You may have heard that I have been nominated at Albany a Candidate for the off. of Govr. This was quite a surprize, and in no sort desired by me; but I have been placed in so peculiar a Situation, as to give my consent to the nomination; yielding to the opinion of others and without much support from my own.

Present my compliments to Governor Worthington, tell him that Congress in imitation of his Legislature, are employed in raising their own Pay. A Bill has probably passed the House of R. to allow in addition to Travelling Compensation an annual Salary of 1500 Dollars to the Members of Congress. . . .

R. K.

R. King to G. Morris.

March 9, 1816.

Dear Sir:

. . . My nomination at Albany, as you will have believed, was a surprize to me: my mind felt no doubt of the decision I

should make, when I first heard of the measure. But delay and the occurrences belonging to it, have brought me to a different conclusion. I have assented to the nomination—in doing so I have yielded to the opinion of others and without the full support of my own. . . .

G. Morris to R. King.

Morrisania, March 15, 1816.

Dear Sir:

. . . I have received yours of the ninth, and am pleased to learn that you stand a Candidate for the Government. The office, could it be restored to what we made it by the constitution, is of great Dignity. But cut down by Mr. Burr's convention, from a seventy four to a razee, it is not worth your acceptance. I feel, therefore, and applaud your self-denial, convinced that your experience, your self-command, your coolness and discretion, will be of great use. They perhaps may raise the office to its original worth. . . .

Thos. J. Oakley to R. King.

Albany, Mar. 29, 1816.

Dr. Sir:

. . . You ask whether Tompkins will accept the nomination for V. P. and continue to be candidate for Gov.; I think he will —He is urged to this by several considerations—the principal of which is, that his party would not unite cordially on any other candidate—Can the friends of D. W. C. have become partizans for T. in the expectation, and as many say, with the express understanding, that, if T. is elected V. P., C. is to be the candidate of Democratic Party a year hence? If the circumstance of T.'s being a candidate for the two places at the same time, will operate at all in our favor, it will be by exciting the apprehensions of that portion of the democratic party who are irreconcilably hostile to D. W. C., that the occurrence of an election of Governor next spring will have a tendency to restore him to his standing in that party—Many of them would prefer the success of even the Federal Candidate to any prospect of C.'s restoration to power.

Our election is approaching under circumstances as favorable as we could have anticipated—The exertions of our friends here are directed chiefly to the west—where we have hitherto been defeated more by the fraud than the number of our opponents—You may never have adverted to the fact, that at the last Governer's election, the *majority* of T. in the County of Genessee and I think one other western county, was *greater* than the *whole number* of electors in the county, according to the census. To prevent a recurrence of such gross fraud, we are adopting all the measures, that seem to us calculated to produce this effect.

I cannot forbear to express to you the deep sense of obligation, which the party feels towards yourself personally, for yielding to their wishes in relation to this election. It will stimulate them to exertions which will deserve, if they do not command success.

I am with entire respect

Your obt Ser.

THOS. J. OAKLEY.

JOHN A. KING TO R. KING.

N. Y., Apr. 5, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

. . . As the time approaches for the Election, the papers increase in the virulence of their abuse; Charles' unfortunate report * furnishes the materials for the most unworthy insinuations against his character & conduct; neither are you exempt from your share of censure on that head, for they say that the feelings & prejudices which dictated that report were an honest inheritance fostered and cherished at the Paternal Board. In consequence of the numerous and violent attacks of this kind, after being much urged on all hands, I at last consented to write a letter to Mr. Clay, a copy of which I enclose. The Paragraph alluded to therein was of a most violent and inflammatory complexion; in it Charles was stigmatized as the apologist of the murderer Shortland; that they had heard that Mr. Clay & Gallatin, however, approved of his conduct, that they did not believe it; if it were so, why had not the friends of Mr. C. King published their approval? that they judged alone from the evidence which was before the public; that by that he was clearly guilty of deserting his country and of boldly

* Dartmoor Prison.

vindicating the murderer of his countrymen; that it was melancholy to reflect that this country could have given birth to such a monster &c, &c. I sent my letter to Mr. Clay about 3 days ago. . .

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN A. KING.

Copy of letter above referred to.

The reports which have been for some time past in circulation to the disadvantage of my brother, Mr. Charles King, in relation to his conduct in the Dartmoor investigation, have at last found their way into the prints and are at this moment made subservient to the vilest purposes. That you may be enabled to judge of their character and dye, I have taken the liberty of enclosing for your perusal an extract from an Albany Paper. No one knows better than yourself, Sir, how to estimate the feelings and attachment of Mr. C. King towards the Country which gave him birth. You were both in England at a period which was eminently calculated to call forth and give strength to their warmest effusions. To no one then could I apply with more justice, and I trust with more propriety, than to yourself for a vindication of those feelings, and in a particular manner of his conduct in relation to the Dartmoor affair, more especially as it was at your instance and solicitation that he was induced to undertake the investigation, which is at this moment furnishing the materials for a most venomous and unprincipled attack upon his character and reputation. To you therefore I appeal in the utmost confidence that you will afford the means of repelling these attacks by vindicating his conduct in this behalf from the unworthy insinuations which have been levelled against it. Your intimate acquaintance with the circumstances of that unfortunate event, the high station which you were filling at that moment in England, enable you to speak with that confidence and authority which cannot fail in a great degree to correct and control the popular prejudice. Feelings of the strongest attachment to my Brother, an earnest desire that his standing and integrity should remain unimpaired in the estimation of honorable men, the sentiments of regard and friendship for him which you were good enough to express to me, when you were in New York & when speaking of him in relation to the Dartmoor affair, must plead my apology for thus enlisting you, Sir, in the defence

of an injured and an absent Brother,* and I trust, Sir, that your reply to this letter will enable me to put forth a vindication of his character and conduct, which shall be at once honorable to your friendship and fatal to his calumniators.†

Copy of a letter from R. King vindicating his course towards the Irish. It is not known to whom it was addressed, nor is the date given:

I duly received your letter of —— with the number of the Register, containing a sketch of the characters of certain members of the Senate.

You have done me both more and less than justice. You have overrated my talents and acquirements—while you have ascribed to me, as a party man, sentiments and opinions, and a want of liberality wh. I must disavow.

I was, and am, and shall never change—a Federalist: the sense in wh. Washington, Hamilton, and Madison for a time, were federalists.

I used my best exertions to obtain the establishment of the Constitution, and to put it into operation, agt. the strong and persevering opposition of its opponents. Before the death of Genl. W. and during his Presidency, I went abroad, where I resided in the public service during Mr. A.'s administration and for more than two years of that of Mr. Jefferson. After my return home I remained in absolute retirement, having no part in political or public affairs, until my appointment to the Senate in 1813.

The angry temper of politicians had not risen up to its height until I was out of the country. I, of course, perhaps more than any other pub. man of my age, was less affected by this excited state of parties.

It is true I took a part while abroad in a critical posture of our affairs, when we had become involved in a war with France, and when the Leaders of the Insurrection in Ireland who were inti-

* Mr. C. King was in Europe.

† Mr. Wm. Coleman in a letter to Mr. King, April 21, 1816, says: "Mr. Gracie told me yesterday that John had received a satisfactory response from Mr. Clay—but that he should make no use of it until after the election. I confess I do not comprehend this." This letter cannot be found.—Ed.

mately connected with France, and had failed in their attempts in Ireland, were about to emigrate to this country, to remonstrate agt. their being permitted to do so—not because I was unwilling that the U. S. should be the refuge of political exiles, but by reason of the peculiar character and connexions of these men, and the State of war between us and France.

I have been uniform in my opinions, that a free country shd. receive and protect the political fugitives or exiles of other nations —but this is a general opinion, and subject to the control of special and peculiar circumstances.

I incurred naturally the disapn. of these exiles, and being of the fallen party in our political divisions, this displeasure was likewise felt and expressed by those of my political opponents who disapproved of my political or party opinions.

These times are past—circumstances have changed—the old political division is no longer debated, no longer a question to be decided. This has been done by those from whom there is no appeal. The federal party in the sense of a party aiming at political power no longer exists—Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni. If individuals of the Irish Exiles have suffered inconvenience, that can be ascribed to my interference, while I may regret the same, I can have nothing to reproach myself with for the part I took which was from the sole sense of strict duty, &c.—

There is an envelope endorsed as follows:

LETTER FROM RUFUS KING ESQUIRE—April 19, 1816

Contains an explanation of his motives in preventing the Irish Rebels from emigrating to this country. This was sent to me by Mr. King for publication, at the time he was the Federal Candidate for Governor of New York. Thinking it better not to make the publication, I wrote to Mr. King advising him against it. He replied acquiescing in my opinion and the publication was never made. D. B. OGDEN.

The letter of Mr. King to Mr. Ogden, inclosing the explanation is as follows:

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

The perseverance with which I am censured for having interfered to prevent the emigration of the Irish chiefs to this Country,

has induced me to think that a little explanation might be useful. I have, therefore, drawn up the enclosed paper, addressed to the Editor of the National Advocate,* and request that you would present it to him for publication.

Should, however, anything occur to you by way of objection to this publication, you may suspend it, until you can give me information.

The common opinion has been, that I felt personal animosity towards Mr. Emmet and his associates ; than wh. nothing could be more erroneous : for I really knew so little of Irish affairs, and had heard so little of the chiefs of the Insurrection, that until I saw their examination, I had never seen the names of any of them.

I am Dr. Sir
yr. ob. & faithful
RUFUS KING.

D. B. OGDEN, Esq.

I presume that the Ed. of the N. Ad. will not object to this publication. Shd. he delay or refuse, and you deem it expedient, desire Coleman to publish it.

To the Editor of the National Advocate.

The publications recently made in your paper concerning my interference while Minister of the U. S. at London, to prevent the emigration to this country of the Irish State Prisoners, are of a character so extraordinary and so calculated to excite the anger, the resentment and even the animosity of the numerous body of Irishmen amongst whom I live, that I think it due to them, as well as to myself to say a few words in my own vindication.

Towards Ireland and Irishmen I have not, I never had either ill will or illiberal prejudices. Any attempt, therefore, that has been or shall be made to excite a contrary opinion is doing me manifest injustice. My interference to prevent the emigration of the Irish State Prisoners, ought not to be regarded as extending to other persons ; because the measure was confined to them and embraced no others. Of them even I had no personal knowledge, and towards them, therefore, could feel no personal antipathy. I was a public man, placed as a centinel on a distant post and bound

* In which paper the charges were published.

in fidelity to ward off as far as might be in my power, whatever appeared to me likely to be injurious to my country.

A great effort had been made in Ireland to establish its independence. France had been engaged to co-operate in the attainment of this result. The persons at the head of the Irish affairs, and who had secured this co-operation of France, were men of distinction, possessing the confidence of the French Government.

The effort to make Ireland independent failed ; and the Irish Chiefs became the State Prisoners of England ; an arrangement having been afterward concluded, between them and the English Government, that they should emigrate from Ireland and reside in some foreign country, not at war with England, a portion of them made their election to come to the United States.

At this juncture our Ambassadors in France had been dishonored, our relations of friendly intercourse with that nation had been abolished by Congress, and the war did not terminate till September 1800. Of the policy of this war I have nothing to observe except that the country was much disunited concerning it, our political divisions on this occasion having been more animated and more extensive than at any antecedent period. In these circumstances it was my deliberate opinion, that it would be injurious, if the Irish State Prisoners, connected as they were with France, should be received in the U. S.; their character, their connexions and their influence would serve to increase our internal divisions and to weaken the measures of the Government.

In this conviction I did request, in September 1798, not that the Irish State Prisoners should be detained in confinement, not that they should be precluded from proceeding to any other foreign country ; but solely that they might not be allowed to proceed to the U. S.—and in doing so, I did no more than I should have felt it my duty to do, in respect to individuals under like circumstances and belonging to any other nation. The answer which I received from the English Government was, that they should not be permitted to proceed to the U. S. without the consent of our Government.

I immediately apprised my own government of what I had done, and of the answer which I had received. The President approved of my interference and persisted in keeping up the bar

against the emigration of the Prisoners. A letter to me from the Department of State of Feby. 1799, contains the following paragraph.

"Your timely interference to prevent the emigration of the Irish State Prisoners to this country is extremely acceptable to the President; but if removed to any other country, many of them will find their way hither; and therefore not only a list of their names, but descriptions of their persons and their ages would be very useful to us if attainable."

I took no farther step on this subject—applications were subsequently made to me, tho' I never understood the same to have been made at the instance of the State Prisoners, to withdraw the impediment to their emigration to America—this I was restrained by my instructions from doing.

This statement is now made for the purpose of correcting any misunderstanding, which may exist, concerning the extent and motives of my interference; and of showing it to have been the dispassionate performance of a public duty, which was approved and maintained by my government.

RUFUS KING.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1816.

It may be interesting to conclude this summary with the following letter addressed to Mr. King in the U. S. Senate.

NEW YORK, Jany. 29, 1818.

SIR:

The undersigned are directed to address you on behalf of the Irish Emigrant Association of New York and to acquaint you with the humane and patriotic objects of this Association as well as to request your support and patronage in Congress of the measure to be proposed to that Honble Body by the same and other similar Associations from various parts of the Union.

You will find all our objects and motives detailed in a Memorial to Congress and we trust you will judge them to be no less calculated for the present relief of the Emigrant and his family than the lasting interests of the United States; as such we flatter

ourselves they will receive the approbation of a philanthrophic and enlightened Legislator.

We have the honor to be
with very perfect consideration and respect
your obedient servants

THOMAS KIRK
WM. J. MCNEVEN
JAMES MEGHER
JOHN W. MULLIGAN

RUFUS KING Esquire.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Wed. 8th May, 1816.

DR. SIR :

. . . Duane says the N. Y. City election closed on Thursday the 2nd. The Repub. Ticket (I presume for Cong. & the Assembly) he says succeeded by a large majority. Of the 10 Wards the Repubs. have carried 6, so that the Corporation has passed out of the hands of the Feds. Probably this result will in the main correspond with that of the other Counties. So that there is no likelihood that the Federalists have succeeded, except in the election of some Members of Congress & of the State Legislature.

Ça ira—the first imposition, says Aristotle, is to flatter the people and is naturally followed by violence. Liberty is too dear to be voluntarily parted with ; it must therefore be gradually weakened by making the People jealous of its wisest and most sincere Defenders ; so that open force may in the end be used to destroy it. But why touch on this subject to you, who have so often and so impartially considered it ? We have been the visionary men, who have believed, as many have, that mere Paper Constitutions, without those moral and political habits and opinions, which alone give solidity and support to any Government, would be sufficient to protect and preserve the equal Rights of the weak against the strong, of the honest agt. the dishonest, of the wise and faithful friends of free Govt. against the wicked and ambitious men, who disregard every thing that stands in the way of their criminal desires : but enough !

With affectionate regards
R. K.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, L. I., May 15, 1816.

My Dr. Sir:

. . . I have seen a few friends, who confirm the result of our late Election. As was anticipated, the effort made by the Federalists had the effect to unite the several sections of the Democrats, and they have, as I learn, succeeded in all Branches of the Election.

As regards what I deem the best policy of the Country, as well as the purity and duration of our Institutions, I ought to regret this manifestation of public opinion. Personally I am satisfied; no event would have been less agreeable than to have been elected Governor of the State. I presume that the failure will, as I think it should, discourage the Federalists from maintaining a fruitless struggle. It has probably become the real interest & policy of the Country, that the Democracy should pursue its own natural Course. Federalists of our age must be content with the past. It would be most unworthy to affect to have changed our opinions. I would not suffer the self humiliation & reproaches of the changelings, I could name, for the highest offices & applauses, that could be given them. . . .

Pray write to us & tell us the state of your health, the Roads & Inns you have met with, the accidents, if any, that have happened to your Horses, or Carriages, the accommodations you find at the Warm Springs, and the effect of the waters. These and especially the last are all interesting to us—and we must complain a little that you have given us no information respecting anything which has happened to you since crossing the Potomac.

Yrs. affectionately

R. K.

C. Gore to R. King.

Warm Springs, May 24, 1816.

My Dear Friend:

. . . The last National Intelligencer is only to the 8th & the Richmond Enquirer to the 11th. By the last, however I, perceived the Democracy of N. Y. has prevailed, and afforded new Evidence of the Popularity of extravagant and disgraceful meas-

ures, when executed by weak & imprudent men. I am, notwithstanding the event, quite satisfied, that you consented to the Nomination. Had not this been permitted, all the blame of the defeat would have been imputed to the want of a proper Candidate. In this County a Majority of the Electors are Federalists, a strange thing in Virginia. . . . The manner of living here is not of the most pleasant kind. It is the fashion of the place and of most of those we have passed through to dine, breakfast & sup with the landlord, his wife, boarders and travellers—and our fare is principally ham & eggs. The potatoes were frozen the last Winter and of course ruined. Peas are not to be obtained before July. Asparagus none, some Greens. The Innkeeper and his Wife very obliging. The House old & in a state of dilapidation. At the Hot Springs we found the house more commodious, but altho' the people appeared well disposed, they are not so agreeable as those of this place. On the whole the bathing is excellent, and that constitutes the amount of all, that is so here, at least in our Estimation. . . .

I remain truly & faithfully your friend

C. GORE.

R. KING TO EDWARD KING.

JAMAICA, L. I., May 19, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR:

We reached home on the 15th. As I have informed you we accompanied Mr. Gore to Frederic, Mard.; here we parted, he crossing the Potomac at Harper's Ferry on his way to the Warm Springs, Va., and we crossing the South Mountain to Hagerstown, whence we proceeded thro' the Valley Conococheaque to Harrisburgh, on the Susquehannah, & thence to Easton on the Delaware, & so thro' Morristown N. J. home. The valley from the Potomac to the Delaware is a fine tract of land, and generally is well cultivated. Last evening we received your letter of the 7th., having before recd. those which you wrote before & after your admission to the Bar. We earnestly hope that your proposed connexion * may prove to be the source of Happiness and Contentment. You must both begin the world with habits of

* The connection referred to must have been his engagement to Sarah Worthington, daughter of Gov. Thos. Worthington, of Ohio.

economy and Diligence; with them you cannot fail to succeed in establishing your Independence, without them you will be certain to become, and to continue, dependent on others. Frederic * we found quite well & much grown. He is the head of his Latin Class, doing Tully's Orations, but in Greek, he is third only. I have not yet examined him, it being the Holidays.

Farewell I am affectionately yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO EDWARD KING.

JAMAICA, L. I., May 21, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

. . . We are here quiet, content, and much inclined to stay at home, which has additional charms by reason of our Comfortless Residence at Washington. I have, I believe, already told you, that the Result of our late State Election has been favorable by an increased majority to the good Patriots. So certain are the Effects of the requisite Arts of the Democracy, and so effectually prostrate is Federalism, that I have no kind of Expectation, that the latter can be again in Favor.

The course remaining for Federalists, is to adhere to the integrity of their Principles; and they being out of the question as a rival Party, and the Republicans, so soon as this is understood, being sure to divide among themselves; the Federalists will be able to assist the true interests of Freedom & of Justice, by giving their influence to the least wicked Section of the Republicans.

Except this service, and it will be a valuable, as well as disinterested and honest one, I know of none, which federalists can render.

With sincere & affectionate Regards, I am

R. K.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WARM SPRINGS, June 6, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . The New York Election shows a more depraved state of the public mind, than I had anticipated, altho' I never felt

* R. King's youngest son.

sanguine of a right Termination, considering the Defection of N. England. I can not perceive any advantage to the Public, as Individuals, from any further struggle of Federalists. I have sent my Resignation, as Senator, to the Mass'ts. Legislature,—This will afford them an opportunity to elect either at their May or Next Session. My Health would not admit of my attendance, if I were inclined, but if I had the Strength of Sampson I should have no Inclination, and I know no Duty, that calls me to go against my Inclination. . . .

Your faithful Friend,

C. GORE.

APPENDIX I.

ESSAY ON STATE OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1810.

Instead of Resolutions expressive of any Opinion respecting the French & English Decrees and orders, would it not be more expedient to contrast the present condition of the Nation with its condition at the period when the Administration passed into the hands of our present Rulers.

In doing this reference might be made to the Embarrassments at home and abroad with whh. the former admn. were encompassed ; 1st. Distress arising out of the waste of capital, the defect of credit and the want of Revenue at the conclusion of the Revolution ; 2nd. Embarrassments proceeding from the reciprocal claims of the U. S. & G. B. relative to the provisions of the Treaty of Peace ; 3rd. Embarrassments relative to the Navigation of the Mississippi and aggravating all such as before existed that arose out of the French Revolution, and which were followed by extensive Depredations upon our Commerce by England, by France & by Spain.

With these Obstacles to contend with, the Peace & neutrality of the Nation were impartially asserted & maintained, its credit revived, its Capital enlarged and its Revenue established. With England ancient Controversies were satisfactorily adjusted, the Posts were surrendered, Indian wars extinguished, adequate Compensation for the Depredations on our Commerce were obtained and the national faith redeemed by provisions for the settlement of the Debts. By Spain our Right to the navigation of the Mississippi was recognized and Indemnity secured for ye. illegal capture of our ships. With France a new Treaty was concluded, annulling her unjust Decrees, granting us Security, so far as the faith of Nations may be so considered, against their future re-establishment and containing her Submission to the Act of Congress,

which declared the old Treaties void by reason of their unjust violation.

Thus our antient Controversies with foreign Nations were adjusted, and those of a more recent date, and which had grown out of a fierce and unexampled war, were likewise composed, and the Navigation & Commerce of the U. S. were encouraged, protected and greatly encreased. At Home, Agriculture, Manufactures, the Fisheries, Navigation and Commerce were encouraged, protected and greatly extended. The Credit of the Nation was revived, its Capital enlarged & its Revenue established. The public Arsenals were replenished, a naval force created, and the American name upheld and revered throughout the world.

In this state of unexampled prosperity at home, and of peace & reputation abroad, our present Rulers were called to the administration of the public Affairs, and what has been the fruit of their Labours? Let the following Facts answer:

Our Agriculture is discouraged,
The Fisheries abandoned,
Navigation forbidden,
Our Commerce at home restrained,
Our Commerce abroad cut off, &

Our Navy sold, dismantled, or degraded to the service of Cutters & Gun Boats. The Revenue extinguished, the course of justice interrupted, the military power exalted above the civil, and by setting up a standard of political Faith, unknown to the Constitution, the nation is weakened by internal animosity and division, at the moment when it is unnecessarily and improvidently exposed to a War with Eng. Fr. & Sp.

So great a change accomplished in so short a time is unexampled in the history of weak & unfaithful Administrations, and can have proceeded only from the want of that Capacity, Impartiality & Prudence, without which no Government can long preserve the prosperity or confidence of their Country. The dawn of this Administration promised an impartial and patriotic Course, and we anticipated a Continuance of the public & private Enjoyments wh. distinguished our Country. But their Expectations were soon disappointed by the avowal of a System of political persecution wh. has disturbed the union & subordination of families, interrupted the harmony of good neighbourhood, and gone far to

destroy the happiness of social Intercourse. The conclusion of the war in Europe in 1801 afforded a favourable opportunity to enter into negotiations for the purpose of establishing such maritime Provisions, as in the event of future wars, might secure the navigation and Trade of the U. S. from the repetition of the injuries they had so recently sustained. This opportunity was wholly neglected, and the commercial and maritime Treaty with a great naval power was suffered to expire without a single attempt that we ever heard of to obtain its renewal. In 1803 the war in Europe recommenced and our Navigation became exposed to interruptions upon the Ocean. These served as matter of ineffectual remonstrance until in 1806, when France passed the decree of Berlin, thereby violating the provisions of her Treaty with the U. S., infringing the Law of Nations & prostrating the Rights of all Neutral States. This Decree in substance, and almost in letter, is the same as that passed by the Directory in 1798, and which the President of the U. S. in December following, in his Speech to Congress, declared to be an unequivocal act of War, which interest as well as honour called upon the Nation firmly to resist. Congress accordingly proceeded to pass Laws, dissolving the Treaties with France, prohibiting all communication and providing for the equipment of a naval force for the defence of our just Rights.

The Country cannot have forgotten the protection afforded to our trade by these measures, so honourable to the Nation, measures by which our Flag was respected on every sea, and the skill and courage of our Officers & Seamen displayed in battle with the ships of France. It was in consequence of these decisive acts that an early communication was made to our Government of the desire of France to return to the relations of Peace and the authority of public Law ; and the Convention which was soon after concluded with the person, who now wears the Diadem of France, accomplished these important objects.

Had our Rulers, after the promulgation of the Decree of Berlin, followed the example of their predecessors, the English Orders would not have been issued, the embargo would not have been imposed, nor should we now have to deplore the distress that afflicts the Country.

If these evils might have been avoided by imitating the ex-

ample in 1798, may they not yet be removed by retracing the erroneous steps which have been taken, and by resorting now to those measures which then proved efficaceous? To this end let Congress repeal the Embargo, annulling the Convention with France; forbid all commercial intercourse with the French Dominions, arm our public & private vessels again and unfurl the Republican Banner against the Imperial Standard. This done, the English Orders would cease to operate, we should hear no more of the unparalleled folly of contending at the same time with all the great powers of Europe & our Trade to every region of the Globe, except France and her Dependencies, will again revive & flourish; our Agriculture will feel the influence of the emancipation of trade and, hand in hand with the general prosperity, the Revenue of the Nation would once more exceed its Expenditures.

APPENDIX II.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE, NOV. 4, 1812.

It is not to be contested, that the President's Message taken in just connection with the whole of the Correspondence that accompanies it, is of a pacific character. The overture thro' Mr. Russell was certainly placed on too lofty ground; England could not with reputation accede to it, inasmuch as it demanded of her to give up during the Armistice that of which she was in possession, and concerning which alone the war is now carried on. Such a demand is not conformable to the practice between Nations in similar circumstances.

The second Despatch from Mr. Monroe to Mr. Russell is materially the same as the first. It varies the manner but retains and insists upon the substance of the condition precedent of the Armistice.

Lord Castlereagh's answer, declining to accede to the proposed Armistice, as on various grounds absolutely inadmissible, announces "that the British Government, *as heretofore*, is ready to receive and discuss any proposition,—*professing to have in view*, to check abuse in the exercise of the practice of Impressment, or to accomplish by means less liable to vexation the object for which Impressment has hitherto been found necessary."

The object of Impressment is the recovery of British seamen from foreign service. If effectual Regulations, excluding them from our service be stipulated by Treaty, this object is accomplished, and the motive to Impressment is removed.

The refusal of the armistice proffered by Admiral Warren was proper, if for no other reason, because the only end of it was to give effect to the revocation of the Orders in Council. The concluding paragraph of Mr. Monroe's reply to the Admiral is very important. It meets the overture made by Lord Castlereagh, and, without proposing an Armistice, offers to proceed to the adjustment of the subject of Impressment by a Convention, in which the exclusion of British seamen from our service, shall be provided for by such Regulations as may be mutually deemed effectual.

This is all that England can or does require. If her seamen are thus excluded, she can no longer under any pretence continue the practice of Impressment. Lord Castlereagh declares that she is ready to receive and discuss any proposition professing to have this object in view. Mr. Monroe declares that the proposition he makes has this object in view. The President says Mr. Monroe is willing that England should be secured against the loss of her seamen, and to that end he offers to negotiate a Convention by which effectual Regulations shall be agreed upon for their exclusion from the pub. and commercial service of the U. S.

As no precise Regulation for the effecting this object is intimated, and as therefore every means by which it can be accomplished may become matter for discussion, the proposition must become the subject of negotiation. There can be no doubt of this conclusion ; and as adequate Regulations can be devised to afford security against the employment of British seamen, there is just ground to expect that a definitive settlement on this point will be made. If Adl. Warren be clothed with sufficient powers, it may be done immediately ; if not, the adjustment must wait till authority be sent from England. Upon the whole the Orders in Council in the President's opinion no longer stand in the way of Peace, as there is no other important difficulty except that of Impressment, and as there is a reasonable probability that this can be adjusted, with advantages to both parties, it would seem that the early conclusion of the War may be confidently expected.

APPENDIX III.

ON IMPRESSMENT AS A CAUSE OF WAR.

(*In R. King's handwriting.*)

Admitting the doctrine that every Nation has a right to the services of its citizens at all times, and more especially in time of war—admitting that the right may be enforced in all places where national jurisdiction may be exercised—admitting that the ocean is such a place ; it nevertheless is true that this right must be so exercised as that the rights of others may be secure. We are so to use our own rights as not to infringe upon the rights of another. This is a principle and a rule of natural justice, not a law which obliges because it has been enacted by a competent authority, but a law of a nature arising out of those innumerable relations and duties which are inseparable from our condition. If therefore from any circumstance one nation cannot exercise the right of reclaimng her citizens without violating the rights of another nation, it must abstain from the exercise of such right. A nation has a right to the service of her people, but a portion of them withdraw and reside in a for. country : the right becomes a merely naked one and cannot be exercised because in attempting to enforce it the jurisdiction or rights of another nation wd. be violated. So upon the ocean—if from any circumstance it becomes difficult or impracticable to distinguish her own citizens from the citizens of another country in whose employ they may be, the right seems to become in like manner a naked one, because it cannot be exercised without violating the right of another nation. The right of one nation to the service of her citizens is not stronger than the right of another. If the similitude be such that citizens of two countries cannot be distinguished, it may be said that the nation employing such foreign citizens thereby injures the nation to which they belong ; and therefore that it should make laws excluding from its service the citizens of the other ; it may be added in case this is not done, that the nation whose citizens withdraw from their homes, may exercise the right to recover them, notwithstanding the injury which may be done to the nation employing them by taking their citizens instead of their own.

It is not to be denied or questioned that a nation may restrain

their citizens from going abroad, and to this end may pass laws with sufficient penalties to prohibit and prevent the same. But no nation is at liberty to exclude foreigners. Every one may refuse to them political privileges. The practice of all times has sanctioned this doctrine. If therefore nations have a right to restrain their citizens from migrating, but do not enact laws to prevent the same, they ought not to exercise their right of recovery at the expense of other nations.

Nations may forbid and restrain emigrations, but they must not refuse to receive strangers claiming refuge. It cannot therefore be reasonable that those who omit to do what they might have done, shall ask redress for losses proceeding from their omission from those who have done only what might justly be done. A nation has a right to restrain emigration, or it has not such a right. If it has no right to do so, the citizens are free to depart, may be freely received and adopted by another nation : in which case the parent nation can have no right to recall or recover back such emigrant ; for if it has a right to restrain and does not do it, but by its laws regulates the manner in which the citizen may depart or emigrate, and thus impliedly consents to the same, it can have no just ground of complaint against other nations who receive and employ their emigrating citizens.

Notwithstanding these reflexions may fail to convince us that the conclusion to which they lead is just and incontestible, they at least give a colour of justice to the opinions of those who deny the right of recovery as exercised by England; they therefore justify the U. S. in requiring England to desist from the impressment of her seamen out of American vessels, whenever the American Govt. shall offer and be ready by mutual consent to establish such regulations as shall afford reasonable security against their employment in the American service.

Absolute security is probably unattainable. Such provisions upon this head as shall not in their execution create too unnecessary embarrassment or penalties, to the Navigation and commerce of the U. S. must satisfy England. As the subject stood at the breaking out of the war, altho' the practice was injurious, still the cases of impressment of American citizens were rare. Besides the condition of the world is a disordered one ; instead of law and the rights of peace, war and violence everywhere prevail.

It was too much to expect that the only peaceful nation should escape without some share of the general calamity.

Perhaps no nation had stronger motives than the U. S. to temporise and to continue the policy which has so much increased their wealth and strength. So long as our rights, be they what they may, are not relinquished, they remain to be asserted when times and circumstances permit. The practice of impressment existed and prevailed in a greater degree under the Presidency of Washington than at any time since. He remonstrated against it, but did not think it sufficient cause of war. Neither was it in 1812. But the war is made and the practice of impressment is the only remaining cause assigned for making the war. Is the exercise of the right of England to search for her seamen on board our vessels, and to take such of our crews as her Officers decide to belong to her, to be submitted to? Is a peace to be made without any security in favor of our own seamen, and are we, explicitly or by silence, implicitly to consent to the Brit. practice of impressment from our vessels?

Altho' I would not have put the question to the issue of the sword, yet it has been done; altho' I lament the want of prudence of those who made this great fault, the fault is nevertheless committed. The question then is, what is now to be done? One nation has as entire right to the service of its citizens as another; and neither, in recovering its own, may take those of the other. If there has been omission in not restraining emigration, if there, moreover, has been an implied consent to such emigration, Gr. Br. ought to use great moderation in the means she employs to recover back her emigrants. Her right in such case is perhaps doubtful; other nations, whose interests may be affected by her course of proceeding, may look into and examine the same, and may either oppose her practice, or, if from any motive they be disinclined to such opposition, may offer to enter into arrangements to adjust their reciprocal rights or interests upon terms of equity.

If, therefore, the U. S. proposed to Eng. to devise and with her concurrence to settle a plan for the exclusion of her seamen from our service, she, on her part, is bound to consent to it and also to agree to a reciprocal plan in our favor, and moreover to abstain from impressment out of our ships. Admitting the right

of Eng. to the service of her seamen, we have an equal right to the service of ours ; she therefore must not violate our rights in vindication of her own. In case Eng. shd. decline to attempt to devise and settle such a plan, the prosecution of the war would be unavoidable.*

APPENDIX IV.

R. KING'S COURSE IN SUSTAINING THE VIGOROUS PROSECUTION OF THE WAR.

Although it would seem to have been of a later date than the report of Mr. King's speech, of which an abstract is given on page 338 of this volume, this paper, in his handwriting, covers the ground of defense of his course in using his influence to sustain the government in a vigorous prosecution of the war:

I may be calumniated, but I still remain unshaken in my integrity and in my principles. I will not say that I never have seen cause to change any opinion that I may have formed ; but I will say that no such change has ever been made but in order to conform my opinions to political principles wh. I had adopted and which I never have changed. Here I remain immoveable. While the General Government pursued a course of administration contrary to those principles, which in my conviction was adverse to the welfare, the prosperity and the liberties of the Union, I opposed the same. I was in other words in opposition ; but since all the great measures that the Federalists, the true founders of the Union and liberties of the States and of their citizens are approved, adopted and made the rule of administering the General Government, I cease to be in opposition. I support and applaud the administration, it being in a very great degree indifferent to me who are our Rulers : my chief and almost only concern being what are these principles of administration and the measures

* "If Great Br. will not be satisfied to arrange the subject fairly, so as to exempt us from the abuse of impressments out of our vessels, when such security as is in our power to give, and such as she ought to require is given, then we shall have a cause of war, and be united in it, more worthy of the energies of the nation."—Pierson's speech on Seaman's Bill, 1813.

which they maintain? If these meet my approbation, no personal considerations, no political friendships, no desire of office, or of distinction for myself or friends impede or divert my best efforts to promote the measures which have received my approbation; because they satisfied my mind that they were calculated and adopted to promote the welfare and happiness of our country.

Who ever heard of my aspiring or wishing for any employment under the Fedl. Govt. either for myself or my connexions? For whom have I asked employment and who that holds office received it by my influence?

Why then have I supported the Genl. Administration? Merely because I thought it deserving of support, not for my own, but the public benefit. I disapproved of the war made under the late Presidency of Mr. Madison, and it was my earnest wish to bring about an early Peace: but the principles of prosecuting the war, proclaimed by the enemy, changed its character in my eyes; and I resolved to go as far as any man in providing and putting into the hands of even a weak administration, the means of defending and protecting the country agt. the desolation, wh. was menaced, and as far as in their power carried into effect by the enemy.

In this I changed no opinion. I disliked the war, because it was unnecessary. I disapproved of those who made it, because they omitted to provide the means of prosecuting it; and thereby exposed the country to the waste and desolation of the enemy; but when the efforts for peace were rejected and a barbarous warfare proclaimed agt. us, it became the duty of all to resist, and thereby preserve the country from ruin. I opposed the war because for the cause and the want of preparation, I considered it unnecessary and dangerous, and I afterwards supported it, because without resistance, we should have been laid waste and the Union destroyed.*

* "In 1813, he was again chosen by the Legislature of New York, a Senator of the United States. The nation was, at that time, at war with Great Britain, and it ought to be recorded to the eternal honour of Mr. King, that he was one of those whom no habit of opposition to administration, and no arbitrary classification or supposed claims of party could induce to a forgetfulness that the United States was his country; and that the rights and honour of that country he ought to support and maintain. It has been observed that the conduct the enemy exhibited in their destruction of Washington, tended to unite all parties in America. The speech of Mr. King in the Senate, on this occasion, while it

APPENDIX V.

STATUS OF THE INDIANS AFTER THE WAR OF 1812–15.

Among the propositions on the part of the British Commissioners at the first conference with those of the United States relative to a Treaty of Peace was one* that "the Indian nations should be included in the pacification, and a definite boundary be settled for their territory." The answer to this was "that the proposition to define, in the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, the boundary of the Indian possessions within our own territories was new and without example." The British Commissioners asserted that "the Indians must in some sort be considered as an independent people," as both countries had made treaties with them; and the answer was that there was an obvious and important difference between treaties with them "in our territory, and such a treaty as was proposed to be made respecting them with a foreign power."

After stating what had been the liberal and humane policy of the United States, which had enabled them to live in peace with the Indians, the American Commissioners asked "whether the pacification and the settlement of a boundary for them were both made a *sine qua non?* Which was answered in the affirmative." To further questions one of the British Commissioners said "that the Indians would not be restricted from selling their lands, but that the United States would be restricted from purchasing them." Another stated "that it was intended that the Indian territories should be a barrier between the British dominions and those of the United States; that both Great Britain and the

may compare favourably with any of his former efforts, in eloquence, has the rare and enviable distinction of being approved and applauded for its sentiments also, by the entire Nation."—W. Coleman, in "Sketch of Rufus King," *Delaplaine's Repository*, 1816, v. i., p. 184.

[The Editor has not been able to find any report of the speech above alluded to, although similar testimony as to its character is given in other notices.]

* *Annals of Congress*, 1814–15, pp. 1314 *et seq.*

United States should be restricted from purchasing their lands; but that the Indians might sell them to a third party." This was considered by the American Commissioners as "nothing less than a demand of the absolute cession of the rights both of sovereignty and of soil"; and as they stated in their despatch, it was deemed "that any discussion would be unprofitable until it was admitted as a basis."

At future conferences the British Commissioners reiterated their demand; but on the 24th of August the Americans answered that so far from being instructed or authorized to yield "both the rights of sovereignty and soil over near one third of the territorial dominions of the United States to a number of Indians, not exceeding twenty thousand . . . they assure the British Commissioners that any arrangement for that purpose would be instantaneously rejected by their Government." It is not necessary to extend this examination further, as it was ably argued by the American Commissioners, and resulted in the abandonment of the demand made; a clause, No. IX., in the Treaty of Peace, pledges both countries immediately after the ratification of the treaty to engage to put an end to hostilities with the Indians with whom they may be at war, and to restore to them the possessions, rights and privileges they had enjoyed or been entitled to before hostilities commenced.

Mr. King, as it is supposed in a speech upon the Treaty, carefully examines and sets aside the claim made by the British Commissioners, as new and erroneous:

> The required arrangement upon the subject of Indian pacification and Indian Boundary suggests an enquiry of what has been the practice in like cases between other nations. When the territorial limits are settled, as those of the U. S. and G. B. are, it is believed that no instance of a like foreign interference in behalf of persons, in the situation of the Indians, has occurred. No principle seems better understood, or more universally admitted than that the Dominion or Sovereignty of every nation is exclusive and co-extensive with its Territory. All within such limits whether men or things being subject to such Dominion.

Thus the Indian Tribes within the U. S. by different Compacts or Conventions have all admitted themselves to be under the Dominion of the U. S. It is true that they are included within, not subject to their ordinary Jurisdiction, having their own laws, customs and government, which are acknowledged and allowed by the U. S. It is also true, that, according to these privileges, they may pass out of the U. S. into the territories of the neighbouring powers, and may allow other Indians of remote tribes to come into their cantons and hold intercourse with them. But their subordination is such that they may not enter into Conventions with the sovereign of a neighbouring territory ; and it is an infringement of the Sovereignty of the U. S. for another sovereign to form Compacts or Conventions with them.

No such interference is known to have occurred. When France possessed Canada, and England the U. S., they made war and peace without stipulations concerning the Indians—except that in the Treaty of Utrecht, provision is made by the XV Article thereof, that the Indians might pass and repass from the territory of one to that of the other—France engaging not to molest the 5. cantons of Indians, *subject to the Dominion of G. B.*, nor other nations of America who are friends to the same.

It may be true that the treatment of the Indians by the U. S. is inequitable and injurious as well to them, as to the character of the U. S. ; but does this give a right to G. B. or any other foreign nation to interfere ? Will not the sovereignty of the U. S. exclude such interference ? They are responsible to the tribunal of public opinion, and their reputation will be affected by this as by any other act of Injustice ; but they are the sole keepers of their own reputation and rights, and from the very nature of sovereignty are not accountable to others.

The Spaniards wasted the population of their American Territories. The English have overrun and destroyed as well the governments as the inhabitants of the E. Indies. The Caribbee Islands, in modern times, have been some of them depopulated and the spared remnant of the Caribs, but a few years since, were removed entirely from the Islands on which they were born.

The Settlement of the Colonies, now the U. S., was by gradual encroachment upon the Indians, who by war and other causes arising from the society of the whites, have been, from numerous

and populous tribes inhabiting the whole maritime frontier of the U. S., driven back during the colonial Govt. of G. B., in like manner as they have since been obliged still further to retire by the U. S. Much of hardship, of injustice, and not unfrequently of cruelty has been in this way inflicted upon persons in the circumstances of the Indians actually within the U. S.

But no foreign nation has ever claimed to interfere in favor of the Indians of So. America, or of those of the E. Indies, or of the inhabitants of the W. India Islands, or of the American Indians, while the territory of the U. S. belonged to G. B. or that of Canada to France. Why should G. B. now insert herself into affairs, for the good or ill direction whereof, she is in no manner responsible, and over which we have the exclusive power of decision? With what right could she make an alliance with Indians, who were under the dominion of the U. S.—or how does she derive a right to enter into stipulations with the U. S. respecting them? The Indians and the U. S. may, as they before have done, settle their own concerns; and it imports the safety of the U. S. to exclude the interference of G. B.—Indians *are not citizens of the U. S., but perpetual inhabitants living in Tribes independent of each other*, and possessing by occupancy title to the soil where they inhabit. Those natives west of the Mississippi are now, as they probably were at the discovery by Columbus, independent Tribes.

Discovery gave no dominion over the Indians, except in cases of Conquest; for the sake of peace among the discoverers, it was established as a principle or Law between themselves, that Discovery gave title to the country discovered, not against the native inhabitants, but against each other—a title capable of being consummated by possession. This title gave to the respective discoverers, the exclusive right to acquire the soil occupied by the natives and of establishing settlements upon it.

As between the discoverers and the natives, the relations between them remained to be regulated by themselves. The history of the Eng. discoverers, demonstrates that in regulating the relations between them and the native Tribes, the rights of the primitive Inhabitants were not overlooked, tho' they were somewhat impaired; *they were* considered to be *the rightful occupants of the soil, with a just claim to retain and use the same*, according to

their own discretion. But their right to the soil, as independent nations, was diminished by the denial to the natives the power to dispose of the soil at will to whomsoever they pleased; it being assumed that in virtue of the Discovery, the discoverers acquired a title to the soil, subject to the Indian right of occupancy.

This principle seems to have been recognized throughout America from the earliest Discovery. Eng. derives her title by discovery from the Cabots, who discovered the continent of N. A., as far South as Virginia.

The country west of the Mississippi ceded by G. B. to France; of France south of the actual boundary of Canada ceded by Fr. to G. B.—after a cession by France to Spain and a retrocession by Spain to France of the territory west of the Mississippi; the latter power ceded the same to the U. S., who hold that country in full right, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, the exclusive power to extinguish which is vested in the U. S.

They hold that Discovery gives them the exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy by purchase or conquest —possessing such a degree of Sovereignty, as the rights of the natives will allow them to exercise, the U. S. have an absolute right to the soil, subject to the Indian right of occupancy, and also the absolute right to extinguish that right. This division includes a complete title to the soil either in the U. S. or the Indians. The sovereignty of the U. S. is therefore limited not absolute.

The claims of the U. S. have been established as far west as the Mississippi by the sword—beyond we have had no war and few treaties. The limits of Conquest are prescribed by the conqueror; but humanity and justice call upon us to prescribe limits to conquest.

APPENDIX VI.

NATIONAL BANK OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Mr. King's Speech upon the President's Veto.

The proposed bank would have a capital of thirty five millions of dollars, composed of five millions specie, ten millions six per cent. stock, funded since the commencement of the war, fifteen

millions Treasury notes and five millions to be held by the United States and paid for in four per cent. stock, to be created for this purpose.

The President of the United States objects to the bill.

1st. Because the amount of stock to be subscribed to the bank is insufficient to raise and sustain the public credit.

2nd. Because no adequate public advantage will arise from the subscription of Treasury Notes.

3rd. Because the full aid and cooperation of the bank, in the furnishing of permanent aid by temporary loans, is not secured to Government during the war.

4th. Because the bank cannot be relied upon during the war to provide a circulating medium.

How the public credit could be raised and sustained by the transfer of any sum of war stock from one citizen to another, or from the present holders to the proposed bank, is not obvious. If the war stock be taken at fifty millions, a demand for one fifth, or ten millions of it, to be united to the bank capital, would have a temporary influence upon the stock market; and if any except stockholders become subscribers to the bank, this increase of price would be advantageous to the sellers. But the advantage would be a private one, no part of which would accrue to the Government. As soon as the requisite sum is transferred to the bank, the stock will be precisely as valuable, and no more so, as it was before such transfer. Government will be obliged to make the same annual provision to pay the interest after the transfer as before. The public credit, which, after employing all the cabalistic words and manœuvres of stock jobbers, always did and always will depend upon the ways and means, or the ability of Government to fulfil its engagements, or to pay its debts in equivalent values, will be little if at all affected by a transfer of stock from individuals to a corporation within the country, especially as these transfers are to be made at different times and at periods of considerable distance from each other. The same debt would continue to exist, yielding the same dividends and representing the same sum of American capital as it now represents. No addition to domestic capital would be made by this operation. If it releases the capital of A. who sells the stock, it will employ the capital of B. who purchases it; and the only

difference will be that A. becomes the owner of a disposable capital, which before belonged to B.

The raising of the price of stocks may prove beneficial to a Government in two ways, if it wants to borrow ; the permanent, not the casual raising of the price of the stock market, will enable it to sell new stock dearer. If foreigners come into the market, the raising of the price increases the money which must be brought into the country to purchase stocks. It was to meet the latter case, that an operation was undertaken by Colonel Hamilton which proved to a limited degree advantageous. But although Government desires to obtain loans, it is not probable that any permanent application of the public credit would have been produced by the transfer of a given sum of the war stock to the bank, especially when the deep wound given to the public credit by the extraordinary terms upon which the late loans were negotiated is considered. More favorable times ; a revival of industry and of commerce ; an improved state of the finances, with a public income commensurate to the public expenditures, are necessary to the revival and re-establishment of the public credit.

The discrimination which is proposed to be carried still further than the bill carries it, in favor of the war stock, is impolitic. Were Government at liberty, for its own advantage (a case not now existing) to make such discrimination, the holders of war stock ought not now to desire it in their favor, as the example might hereafter be cited as a precedent against them, and in favor of the now postponed though equally meritorious stock of the Revolution.

There should be no discrimination ; the public faith knows no favorites ; the holders of the war stock ought not to contend for preferences. They ought to be satisfied that the public faith, whether formerly or recently pledged, is equally precious to an honest Government. If there still remains a doubt concerning the correctness of the first objection contained in the President's message, can there be any respecting that of the second ? Will no adequate public advantage arise from the subscription of Treasury notes ?

Public credit as has already been observed depends on the ability and inclination of the Government to fulfil its contracts.

Treasury notes are contracts, promising to their holders, the sums, and at the times, mentioned in them. The bill provides that fifteen millions of dollars, in these notes, shall be receivable as a part of the bank capital, and when received shall be converted into fifteen millions of six per cent. stock. If not received by the bank and converted into six per cent. stock, this sum of fifteen millions of Treasury notes will fall due, and must be paid off, in the beginning of the next year. To this end money must be borrowed; and assuming the rates of the last loans, to borrow fifteen millions of dollars Government must give eighteen millions and three quarters of a million of dollars of six per cent. stock. So that the difference between paying them off, or allowing them to be subscribed to the bank, would be a clear saving to the public three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars six per cent. stock.

Moreover by this conversion of Treasury notes into an equal sum of six per cent. stock, room would be made for a further loan of Treasury notes—the finances would also be relieved by releasing the Government from the obligation to pay off their notes at a fixed day, and the ways & means, whether from loans or taxes, to the amount of fifteen millions, which would have been required for this purpose, would be left at the disposition of Government. Is then the objection correct which alleges that no public advantage will arise from the subscription of Treasury notes to the bank?

The third objection alleges that the bank is under no legal compulsion to afford that full aid and co-operation to Government, which the Message declares to be both indispensable and necessary in the administration of the finances, it being neither obliged to make temporary nor permanent loans to Government.

Temporary loans to Government, in advance or anticipation of the taxes, are without doubt among the chief advantages that Government derives from a National Bank; as portions of the annual expenditure are required to be made before the taxes are collected, the bank, with mutual advantage to itself and the Government, is commonly able to make the advances wanted for this purpose, waiting for the repayment until the taxes come in. In ordinary times every bank of circulation finds its interest in affording to the Government this accommodation; which is made pur-

suant to the correct maxims of commercial credit, being a loan made upon "good pledges," or undoubted security, which at a fixed, and no distant, period will repay it.

But it must be evident that such advances in anticipation of the taxes, and which are to be repaid by them, can be made only upon the faith that the currency in which the taxes are paid will be of equal value with that in which the bank made its advance. If, as in the instance of this bank, its notes are convertible into specie, and the taxes are payable either in them or a Government paper, which is at a discount, no one will suppose that the bank can, in such case, make advances to the Government, and receive in payment thereof the depreciated paper in which the taxes are paid.

If the bill pass, the bank must redeem its notes with cash; the taxes will be receivable in bank notes or Treasury notes; the latter being at a discount, the taxes will be paid in them. Ought any one to expect that the bank will advance to Government a million of dollars in its notes, as an anticipation of the land tax, and receive in payment a million of dollars in Treasury notes, which may be at a discount of ten or fifteen per cent.? Is it not plain that, instead of receiving compensation for the loan, the bank would in such case suffer a positive loss equal to the depreciation of the Treasury notes? It results that neither this bank, nor any other, whose notes are of greater value as a currency, than Treasury notes, can make advances in anticipation of taxes, payable in Treasury notes.

The objection, therefore, against the bank amounts to this, that it cannot do what can only be done by a bank which is released from those indispensable restraints, without which no bank can with safety be established.

This objection goes further, and urges the rejection of the bill because the bank is not obliged to make permanent loans to Government. No bank doing business, upon securities of short dates, can make permanent loans, and all banks of circulation are obliged to require such securities. If any exception to this rule exists, it can only be for moderate sums. Banks, acting upon the principle, that cash advance must be upon a security or pledge, which, at a short date, enables the bank to recall its advance, are called commercial banks. Those which make loans of long dura-

tion, or of a permanent character, do so with a reliance solely upon the public credit; and without the specific pledge, demanded by banks of circulation, and which enable them to recover their money, in all cases of failure. These are called financial or governmental banks. So long as banks confine their business, whether with Governments or with individuals, to the maxims of commercial credit, receiving for their advances notes and bills of undoubted credit, and payable at early periods, or pledges of specific funds or effects—so long are they of advantage to Governments, as well as to individuals employed in any business requiring the aid of credit.

But all experience has proved, and the examples are numerous throughout Europe, and, as is believed without a single exception, that whenever banks become what is called financial banks, without making permanent loans upon the mere pledge of the public faith, when they become the mints employed by Governments to fabricate paper to such amounts as often, and for such periods, as their wants frequently recurring, and always urgent, demand, they never fail to accomplish an extensive revolution in personal property, sometimes produce the abolition of debts, and after preying upon the credulous and unprotected, end in their own, and the nation's bankruptcy.

It has been supposed that the Bank of England is a financial bank, and an exception from this conclusion; it would require time and detail to give a correct idea of the operations of this bank; all that will now be said in reply to this suggestion is, that whoever takes the requisite pains to understand the origin, progress, maxims and manner of conducting the business of the Bank of England, whether with Government or individuals, will be satisfied that it transacts its business strictly upon the principles and rules of commercial credit; and that because it does so, and for that reason only, it has been enabled to afford the aid, which it has done to the public, private and commercial credit of the nation.

It would therefore seem that it is no sufficient objection to this bill that it does not oblige the bank to make large loans to the Government; since to compel a bank to make such loans, upon the pledge of the public faith, or upon depreciated public securities, especially when the bank is relieved from the obligation to

make specie payments, would be to require it to repeat the experiment so often made in different forms, both at home and abroad, which has everywhere and always failed, and which enlightened economists will all unite to condemn.

Lastly it is objected that the bank cannot be relied upon during the war to provide a circulating medium. No bank, which is obliged to redeem its notes in specie, can in the present state of commerce, credit and alarm, issue the same beyond a very limited sum.

If to the distrust which the war and a real or supposed scarcity of specie create, be united an unusual demand for specie to be hoarded, or sent abroad for security or to compensate unfavorable balances of trade, in lieu of the produce usually exported for this purpose, and if at the same time a considerable depreciation of the public credit takes place, a case will exist in which banks of circulation are reduced to the necessity of either a total suspension of business, or such an abridgment of it, as to render them incapable of circulating their notes in quantities commensurate to the public demands.

The objection, therefore, is not against the structure of the bank, but against the condition of the country, and the state of the public credit, which may compel the bank to curtail its circulation.

In effect the objection amounts to the confession that no bank which confines its business to the only safe and practical test of a paper circulation will, or can, afford important aid in the furnishing a circulating medium in times and circumstances like the present ; that no bank, except one which is released from the obligation to pay its notes in specie, can now afford a circulating medium ; in a word that none but a bank which could circulate a depreciated currency and which it would be dangerous to create, ought now to be established.

It might suffice to have shown that the President's objections ought not to prevent this bill from becoming a law ; but a few words may be added concerning the bill. The amount of the capital of the bank has already been mentioned. Its duties and general provisions are conformable to those of the late Bank of the United States ; they have had a fair trial and been approved ; whatever that bank would have done, this would be able to do ;

and advantages such as it afforded to Government in the management of the finances, this bank would in due time be equally or more capable of affording.

It has not been contended that at this time, owing to the condition of the finances and credit of the United States, as well as to the general stagnation of trade, and the distrust of every kind of credit, any safe bank that might now be established, could afford to Government, or to individuals, much or important assistance by loans, even of a temporary kind.

But the agency of this bank would now be of service to Government ; whatever it should be able to do would be well done. Its operations would be all solid and of standard character ; its business must be limited, but it would be safe and exemplary ; and with regard to every other moneyed institution, conducting its affairs honestly, it would cherish and sustain it.

Moreover, by the establishment of this bank upon sound and improved maxims, although it may not now do what no safe bank can do—much good—it will do no injury. It will not contribute still further to depreciate public and private credit ; and during the time of its charter, it will prevent, a circumstance worth much, the establishment of a bank upon false and dangerous principles. On the return of peace, the agency and influence of this bank will become invaluable in the recovery and establishment of the credit and finances of the nation.

For these reasons which had their influence in the passage of the bill by the Congress, and the force of which remains not only undiminished, but the latter of them is increased by the objections made by the President, it is earnestly to be wished, although scarcely to be hoped, that the bill may become a law.

The concluding paragraph of the Message of the President is incomparably the most important. It is this which opens and interprets the object desired to be attained by the rejection of this bill. Congress are here admonished by the President to make haste to "substitute" (in lieu of the bill) "a more commensurate and certain provision for the public exigencies." The President of the United States, after alluding to the exigent and perilous condition of the country, after insinuating to Congress in language not to be misunderstood, that the resources of the Treasury were exhausted, that extraordinary succor from loans was no

longer attainable, that a bank created upon safe and approved principles could afford no public assistance, plainly intimates that paper money, and only paper money, will, or can, assist the nation in the further prosecution of the war. If this be so, if by the neglect and mismanagement of the finances and profusion in the public expenditures, the country is already reduced to this situation, and the President announces the same to Congress, will they prove themselves the faithful friends of the people, unless they reasonably apprize them of the fact, however humiliating? If paper money be necessary, avow it, prepare it, issue it; but under every caution and guard which can be devised to mitigate its evils. All experience, public and personal, demonstrates that every object is attained with more certainty and greater advantage by a direct than by an indirect course.

Why, then, will Congress by the creation and employment of a bank attempt to conceal their actual condition and real object? Why establish a bank which, dealing only in paper, will fabricate and lend as many millions as Congress may desire to borrow? Why pay to this bank an interest of six per cent. for the loan of their notes, which in no single ingredient will, or ought to be thought, to be of greater value than Treasury Notes? The people of this country have much natural sagacity, and will not long be deceived by this or any similar contrivance. Rather devise an improved scheme for the immediate issue of Treasury Notes, let them be converted at pleasure into a public stock, bearing a high interest; fund this stock by pledging specific taxes to pay the interest; the credit of this currency will be better than that of the notes of such a bank as it is desired should be created.

If a paper circulation alone will enable us to defend the country, prepare and make use of it; but spare us the expense of paying interest for it to a company, whose faculties, without our contributions, will enable them to make dividends equal to their utmost desire.

APPENDIX VII.

COMMERCIAL CONVENTION WITH ENGLAND.

Recollecting as some of us are able to do the great sensibility that was shewn in respect to the navigation and trade of the

country when Mr. Jay's Treaty with England was concluded, and which it was confidently asserted was grossly defective in just provisions for their advantage, there is some difficulty in accounting for the apathy, not to say disregard, which are so manifest at this time in relation to the same important and necessary interests. The system of a passive commerce, like that of China, resting solely on the theory of selling dear and buying cheap, has at all times had its advocates among us. But of late, and especially since the late war, an opinion that a Navy is our best arm of defence, as well as aggression, has become general, and is nowhere more cordially approved than in Virginia and other quarters where the theory of a passive commerce has found its most able advocates.

The late Commercial Convention with England is the fruit and trophy of the late war—a war which is creditable to our arms on land and ocean, but which has added nothing to our political reputation or national character; since no single object has been attained for which great waste of blood and treasure have been made, increased as the latter was by the sacrifice of our enriching commerce for a series of years, before the declaration of war.

When we look back to the prosperous condition of our navigation and trade in the year 1795, and compare what it probably would have been at this day, without restriction, embargo and war, with what is now actually is, it would really seem that there could be no difference of opinion respecting the administration of our pub. affairs, and that all would agree that a course altogether the reverse of that which has been followed, would have been our wise course.

He must possess an unenviable temper and unworthy principles who does not prefer a free Govt. to an arbitrary one: but no honest man who has lived in a free democratic Govt., if his mind has been lifted above those pursuits and occupations which render men in a great measure indifferent about the forms of Govt., can have shut his eyes upon the tendency of such Govts. to faction and to a sort of political compulsion which obliges men to do and to permit what is neither honest nor beneficial to the public.

No free democratic Govt. has ever existed without faction; and every such Govt. which is subject to the action and influence

of it, approves & adopts, or disapproves & rejects, regulations & measures, not because they are beneficial or injurious to the Public, but because they affect advantageously or otherwise the views and interest of the faction that rules.

Had the Govt. of the U. S. of late years been administered with an exclusive regard to the welfare and prosperity of the Nation, disregarding altogether the struggle between the two parties wh. has warped our public counsels and so extensively deranged our public and private affairs, how different would have been our present condition in morals as well as riches. The great and honest body of the People have little interest in these political struggles ; it is those who seek for office and its emoluments who are benefitted by these struggles ; it is they who excite the People to engage in them, & who present and urge a thousand different motives to rouse and persuade the People to follow their advice.

These reflexions are not offered with a hope that they will change a course of proceeding which is inseparable from our scheme of Govt., but as in some manner explanatory of our actual situation. With all the causes of complaint, and they are almost wholly political, we have great and most extensive reasons of satisfaction—altho' all is not right, yet so comparatively small is the portion of what is wrong, that we would not consent to exchange condition with any other nation.

So long as the political struggle is nearly equal, it wd. be idle to attempt being heard in favor of moderation & a wise policy, or to expect that any counsel except of a mere party complexion would be favorably received—but when the ascendency of one party is established and the other is so small a minority as to excite little or no apprehension of their being able to overturn their rivals, the counsels of wisdom and experience may be listened to, & the welfare and prosperity of the nation may be consulted without fear of endangering the interests of the Rulers.